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THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGIST

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Vol. 32 No. 1

THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGIST

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MILWAUKEE, WIS., MARCH 1951

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE OLD COPPER COMPLEX

By Warren L. Wittry

To anyone familiar with Wisconsin archeology, the Old Copper Complex represents some of the finest examples of aboriginal workmanship to adorn the collectors' shelves or the museums' exhibits. For three-quarters of a century these copper specimens have been collected and have caused much discussion and controversy. The early studies and discussions were concerned with the sources of the copper, the methods of mining and the techniques of manufacturing the implements. Through the years and not without some aid from the geologists and metallurgists the initial problems have been solved. But to the archeologist, whose tasks include the definition of prehistoric cultures and their proper placement in time and space, the Old Copper Complex still presents an interesting challenge. We shall not be concerned here with reviewing all the contributions relative to these questions that are available whether they be fact or theory because it would tend to be repetitious and lengthy. A selected bibliography is presented with this paper giving some of the more important references.

What, then, is the purpose of this paper? It is to attempt a further definition of the Old Copper Complex and its problems, to apply some new techniques, and to suggest some conclusions that may be drawn from the data obtained by these applications.

Copper artifacts which have come to be included in the Complex are almost always utilitarian. They are mainly pro-

jectile points, knives, axes, perforators and crescentic forms of a somewhat doubtful function. Characteristically, a coating of copper salts which covers the surfaces of the specimens has been one of the chief reasons for attributing to them a relatively great age, though soil conditions, particularily its chemical nature, will cause variations in degree and kind of patination. The exceedingly pure native copper of the Lake Superior region was used, being obtained by open pit mining on the Keweenaw Peninsula (Upper Michigan) or Isle Royale (Lake Superior) Nuggets of copper transported south from that area by the glaciers were also used. Methods of manufacture included the hammering of both hot and cold pieces, but in either case repeated annealing was necessary because copper becomes hard and brittle when hammered. It can not be tempered. By an examination of chips and waste pieces and the artifacts themeslves, it is concluded that cutting and grinding were part of the process. Melting and casting were unknown to the makers of the Old Copper tools and this is an important point for it imposed a limit on the possible variations in form.

Except for a few dozen, all of the Old Copper pieces were picked up individually—in plowed fields, sand blows and areas of soil erosion. Only one site in Wisconsin has been excavated which produced a limited number of types (Ritzenthaler, 1946). A few types were discovered in association with caches. In distribution, Old Copper types range over a large portion of North America but they are highly concentrated in Wisconsin and neighboring states.

Some specific problems raised by these artifacts might be posed. "Who were the people that made and used these copper implements? Where and when did they live?" But the most important question is, "How do they fit in the scheme of Wisconsin prehistory?" Various hypotheses have been advanced in answer to these questions (McKern, 1942; Martin, Quimby and Collier, 1947; Ritzenthaler, 1946; Miles, 1951), each using the data available at the time. It is hoped that the techniques and conclusions suggested here will prove useful for the answers yet to come.

The basic approach used was to work primarily with the specimens in the collections of three museums in Wisconsin [1]. The information which accompanied the specimens was tabulated, though in most cases it pertained only to the location of discovery. The first step was to break down the aggregate of specimens into smaller groups in order to deal with them more particularly. This was effected by the construction of a typology, or system of classification. This is not the first classification of copper implements, there being three predecessors which were consulted in order to make it as comprehensive as possible (Brown, 1904a, 1904b; West, 1929; Flaskerd, 1940).

in the descriptive analysis of artifacts there are found a number of traits relating to the various aspects such as material, manufacturing techniques, elements of shape, and so on. These traits are called **features.** However, certain of those features are common to all forms of the Old Copper Complex and therefore can be ignored in the segregation of types. They are really part of the definition of the Complex as we now know it and consist of the following: One universal feature is material, i. e., native copper whether it came from the mines or the glacial drift is assumed to be used for all the varieties. Another such feature is the method of manufacture which is presumed to be so basically similar for all forms that it has no importance in the further breakdown. Because form and function are so interrelated and the uses of the majority of forms is obvious or inferred by their shape, it is specific variations in shape that are used as the basis for the construction of the typology. Using the traditional categories of projectile points, knives, crescents, spuds, etc., the copper im-

[1] In all, some 2,600 specimens were examined, typed and plotted on distribution maps. They are located in the Museum of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison; The Neville Public Museum, Green Bay; and the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee. Thanks are due to J. W. Jenkins, E. G. Wright and W. C. McKern, the directors of the museums, respectively, for their cooperation; and to Dr. D. A. Baerreis who made helpful suggestions both in the study and in the writing of this article.

plements were further separated into groups which had the same features and the same combinations of features. The original shape of the artifact as it was made is used rather than the present condition. Fortunately, that shape is quite discernable in the majority of specimens. Cases of recent mutilation can be easily recognized. This segregation resulted in quite a large number of groups but this number was retained for the sake of continuity within each group. The resulting groups are called **types** although they are actually only tentative types as they lack adequate data on their utility for historical studies. A true type, which is limited in its areal, temporal, and cultural distributions, is of considerable use to the prehistorian. The types have been given Roman numerals to designate the major group; for instance, all projectile points are headed by the Roman numeral "I," knives by "II," and so on through the major classes. Under those headings, the specific types are lettered. Instances where forms are closely related by having a majority of features in common but differing in only one or two have been classed as sub-types and are so designated by the addition of an Arabic number to the type symbol. For all purposes sub-types can be treated as types until their status is more fully realized. The whole typology is only a device of convenience by which other techniques can be applied to the problems of the Old Copper Complex.

Although features are components of types, they can and do occur on more than one type. For example, median ridges, beveled edges, rivet holes, and pointed bases each occur on several types. The distributions of features, then, will be more extensive than the distribution of individual types. Distributional data on features can be treated in the same manner as types and at times may be very useful in broader implications.

To give temporal values to types by constructing typological seriations on the basis of complexity or degree of technical advancement is, indeed, unreliable as degeneration is possible as well as progressive improvement. Also, in connection with the Old Copper Complex, if it did last long enough for changes to take place in the types there is the possibility

that some types may have remained stable while others changed.

For a long time the metal and ornaments of the Bronze Age of Europe presented a somewhat analogous situation to what we have with the Old Copper Complex. The problems were solved in Europe in part by the use of hoards or caches which are defined as the discovery of artifacts under the circumstances indicative of contemporary use. Other techniques successfully applied to the Bronze Age artifacts of the Old World were concerned with the geographical distribution of types and their distributions along trade routes established by the discovery of other commodities, notably amber (Childe, 1930, pp. 42, 46-48). That trade routes were present in prehistoric times in North America, can hardly be doubted. However, they have not been defined well enough to permit their use here. Moreover, the distribution of all Old Copper forms is so concentrated in and about the state of Wisconsin that the actual migration of people as well as trade or diffusion may account for a good deal of the dispersion illustrated in Figure 4.

Differences which the reader may note between the following typology and the others can be attributed to two factors. First, criteria used to differentiate varieties in the other classifications were not found to be significant by the present writer, and secondly, the present typology is more rigid, causing each type to be more homogeneous. On the whole, the artifacts appeared to fit rather nicely into the types, suggesting that the cultural standards for their manufacture were well defined. Some of the forms such as the flat axes or celts did not readily "fall" into types so they were arbitrarily divided into three types depending on a rectanguloid, trianguloid, or ovate rectanguloid outline. Unique specimens, that is, those forms for which there is only one example, are not included in the classification. Figures 1, 2 and 3 should give an adequate conception of the types. [2] However, type I-A, the most common variety of projectile point is divided into two sub-

[2] Group XI, not included in the Figures, consists of finger rings.

types which will be discussed in more detail below.

The types were studied by two major techniques. One of these may well serve as one means of checking the validity of the types and subtypes. In addition to plotting the total distribution of all types in Wisconsin (Figure 4), each type was plotted separately. [3] In at least 90 per cent of the cases locational information was given as to the civil town in which they were found. In southern and eastern Wisconsin, the civil towns correspond more or less to the government township and range system (most of them are equal to a congressional township) thereby achieving an accuracy within six miles which is entirely adequate for the scale of the maps. Each specimen is plotted individually, that is, a dot on the map represents one specimen. The majority of the remaining 10 percent were located by counties and were so plotted by a dot placed in the center of the county. Specimens with no data as to location or with such a vaque reference as "southern Wisconsin" were not included.

Rightly, it should be pointed out that collecting techniques may have biased the distribution. All of the large collections of Old Copper artifacts were made by men living in the eastern part of the state, although some of them, through travel and advertizing, extended their activities all over Wisconsin and even the adjoining states. Also, the settlement and particularly the development of farming in the state followed a pattern which was early and intensive in the southern and eastern areas and even now the north has not yet been extensively farmed. Although these factors may account for some distortion in the total distribution, it would seem that their effect on the relative distribution of types is small. Two reasons can be cited for this. First, if a particular type is actually limited in its dispersion, it just will not be found outside its own area. Secondly, we must assume, if we are to interpret the distribution maps, that any particular specimen found will have the same chance as any other type of

[3] Photographic copies of these maps are on file in the Museum of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

surviving the pitfalls of being junked or mutilated to be included in a study such as this. The three series comprising the specimens studied represent a significant proportion, probably well over half of the total number that are available at the present time. Thus, the distribution of these specimens is in all probability a very good indication of the actual distribution of the Old Copper Complex and certainly a good representation of the relative number of types.

The value of an intensive typological and distributional study must depend on the conclusions that can be drawn from it. Looking at the map of the total distribution (Figure 4), we can see that the greatest concentrations of specimens are in Manitowoc County on the Lake Michigan shore and inland in and around Washington County in southeastern Wisconsin. Moreover, in these two areas a larger number of different types are represented than in any other region. We can conclude that these areas in eastern Wisconsin are primary centers for the Old Copper Complex. To the west and north of these are concentrations along the Upper Fox and Wolf Rivers which may be secondary centers either later in time or peripheral to the major centers or very possibly both.

It was stated that distributional data would tend to test the validity of the types and sub-types. Since there is not space here to print all of the maps, one of the more clear cut examples is presented. Projectile point I-A1 is characterized by an elongated triangular blade and a three-sided socketed stem. A median ridge runs down the back of the specimen but the front surface is flat for the entire length. The base is pointed (Figure 1, A). Another subtype, I-A2 is exactly the same except for the presence of a "step" in the surface of the front face which causes the floor of the socket to be lower than the blade and provides an abutment for the shaft. When the distributions of these two sub-types were plotted (Figures 5, 6), it was noted that each of them fell into the total pattern, but that I-A1 was predominantly concentrated in the primary centers of Washington and Manitowoc Counties. The reverse is true for I-A2. It is concentrated in the second-

ary centers of the Wolf and Upper Fox River Valleys, and is more limited in its distribution. This distributional data coupled with the fact that I-A2 is a more complicated variant indicates that it is a later type. Similarly, sub-type I-G2, type I-H and type I-K are found mainly in the secondary centers and may be late types within the Complex. Though no measurements were made it appeared as the specimens were examined that I-A2 and I-G2, later types of the secondary centers, were larger than their allied types I-A1 and I-G1. This would be, of course, another way to substantiate the validity of types.

Distributional data of this nature has also operated to the other end. When the original shape classification was set up, type I-B was divided in two on the basis of whether there was a rivet hole (or rivet) or not. Specimens with the hole outnumbered those without, but there were no differences to be found in the patterns of the two distributions. Consequently, they are now combined into one type. In general, the remaining types seem to fall into the pattern of total distribution, but in the case of many types there are too few specimens plotted at the present time to warrant any conclusions beyond the fact that they all have the same general distributions.

The second major technique applied to the Old Copper artifacts was an analysis of their occurence in caches. The tabulation lists some of the caches found in Wisconsin. The writer is aware of others which are not included either because they contained only one type of artifact or the specimens were not available to determine their exact type.. Although the copper specimens recovered at Osceola are tabulated they, of course, do not represent a cache. With the number of burials estimated at 500 and with some burials better preserved than others, it is logical to assign a relatively long period of time for the formation of the cemetery (Ritzenthaler, 1946, pp. 64, 65). Nevertheless, the fact that several different types were found there makes it necessary to include this data.

What the tabulation demonstrates is the association of cer-

tain types of Old Copper Complex with others. This is shown concretely within each cache. However, another sort of association can also be observed. When one type, such as III-A occurs in several caches it serves as a link to the otherwise unassociated types occuring in the different caches. Other types than III-A also operate in that manner so that all of the types shown on the table are related into a broad association, graphically illustrating a continuity in the Old Copper Complex of obvious significance. Naturally, it is quite improbable that all of the caches were made at the same time. The caches could represent a period of time during which all of the types were in common use or alternatively, some caches may be significantly older than others—in which case the linking types would have been stable forms that remained unchanged while older types were replaced by new ones. It would be difficult to determine the direction of the sequence, however. The study of the caches, nevertheless, does serve to determine which types are to definitely be included as part of the Old Copper Complex.

A striking outcome of the map of total distribution is the remote location of the Osceola site in relation to the primary and secondary centers. It might be questioned whether Osceola is a true manifestation of the Old Copper Complex. Admitting the possibility that new discoveries might fill in more completely the intervening area, we cannot omit the suggestion that the copper artifacts from Osceola are the result of trade.

The conclusions derived through the techniques used in this study are tentative. Nothing has been stated concerning the real questions which were posed in the early part of the paper. In that respect we must realize not only the utilities of the methods used but their limitations. The distribution maps and the analysis of cache associations served their most important functions in demonstrating a certain amount of coherence to the various types of copper implements which previously were combined into a complex only because they seemed to belong together by their utiliation nature and heavy

patination. Primary and secondary centers were proposed for the Old Copper Complex and a few of the types were suggested as being later than others. We are seeking information on these elusive aborigines who are necessarily characterized now only by their use of particular copper tools and, if Osceola is an Old Copper site, by a few other material traits and a burial complex. These things were only a small portion of their total culture.

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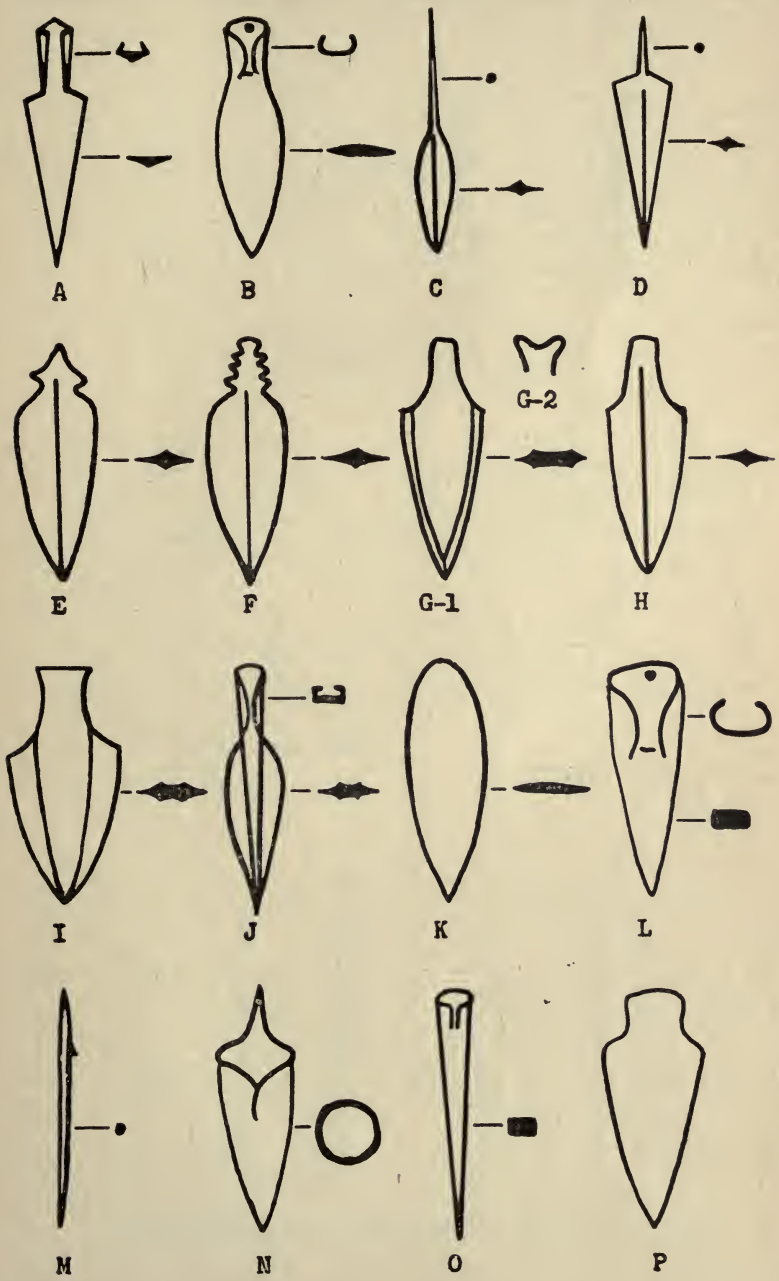
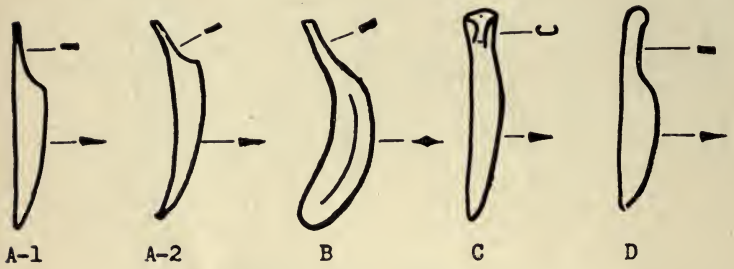
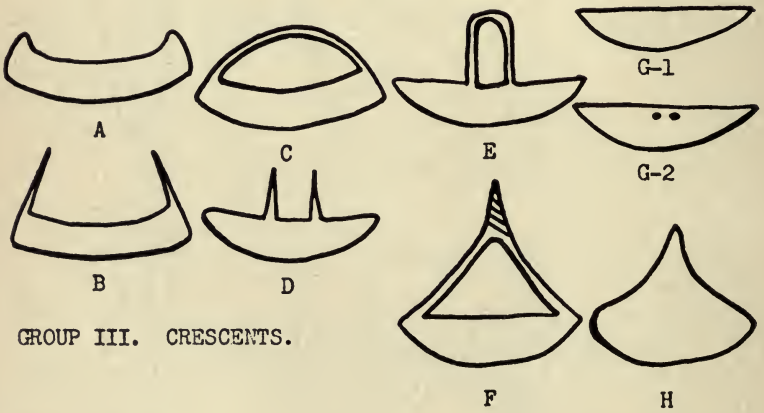


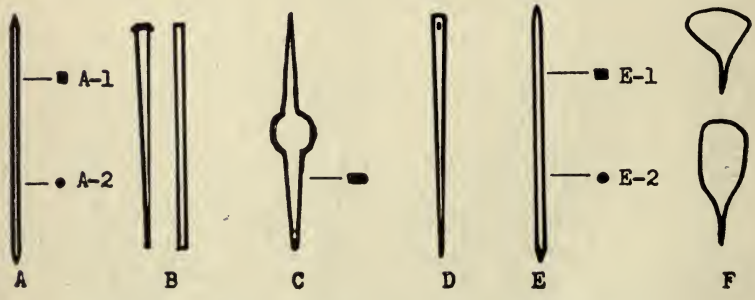
GROUP I. PROJECTILE POINTS.
Figure 1.



GROUP II. KNIVES.

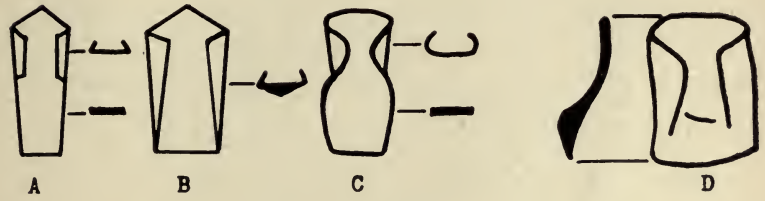


GROUP III. CRESCENTS.

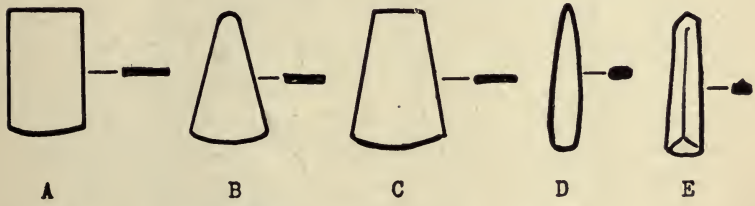


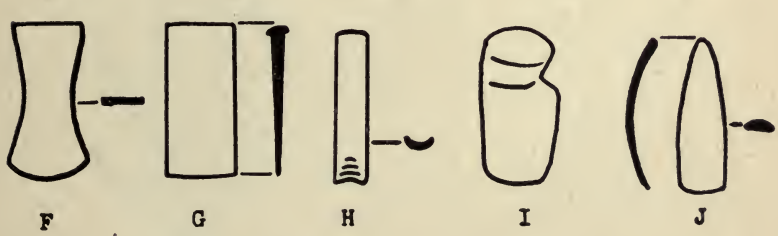
GROUP IV. AWLS, PUNCHES, NEEDLES, PIKES DRILLS.

Figure 2.

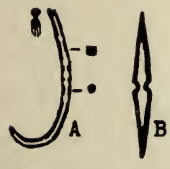


GROUP V. SPUDS.





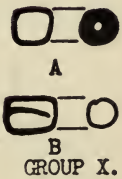
GROUP VI. CELTS, CHISELS, WEDGES, GOUGES, AXES, ADZES.



GROUP VII. FISHHOOKS, GORGES.

GROUP VIII. SPATULAS.

GROUP IX. BRACELETS.



GROUP X. BEADS.

Figure 3.

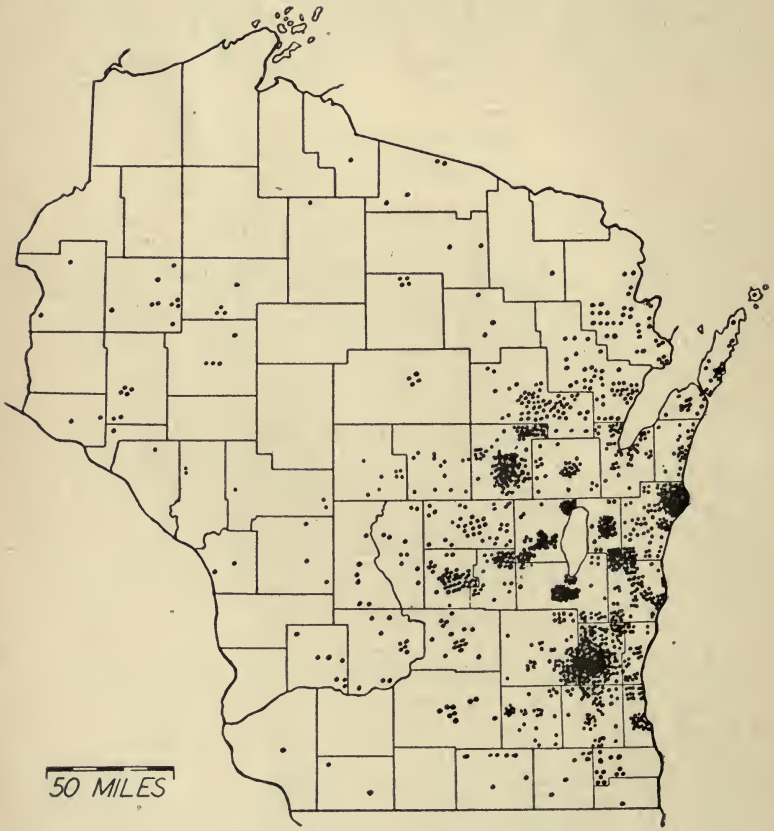


Figure 4. Total distribution in Wisconsin of the Old Copper artifacts in the collections of the Museum of the State Historical Society, Madison; the Neville Public Museum, Green Bay; and the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee.

TABLE I—TABULATION OF CACHE ASSOCIATIONS

Cache	TYPE I-AI	I-D	I-I	I-J	I-L	I-O	II-A1	III-A	IV-A1	IV-C	IV-E	V-C	V-D	VI-G	IX	X	XI
1. Osceola	2				1		1		21				6		?	x	1
2. Mohr						2	1		2	4							
3. Blair I			2			1		2		1							
4. Blair II				1				3									
5. Okrou								1				1		1			
6. Doty [1]			2					1						1			
7. Wegend					5				1								
8. Fond du Lac [2]		16							1		3						

[1] Two unique specimens that were included are a "sword" and a "banner" or "double bitted axe."

[2] Unique specimen included was a cylinder, solid at one end and with a perforation in the wall at the other end.

Note: All specimens (except those from the Osceola site) are in the State Historical Museum at Madison, Wisconsin.

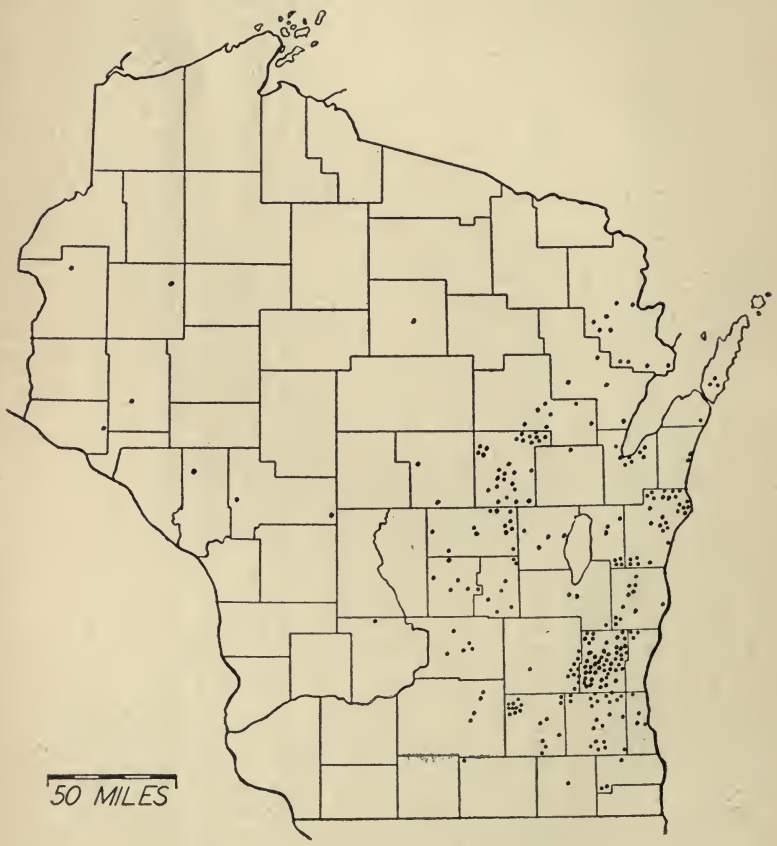


Figure 5. Distribution of Type I-AI in Wisconsin

Figure 6. Distribution of Type I-A2 in Wisconsin

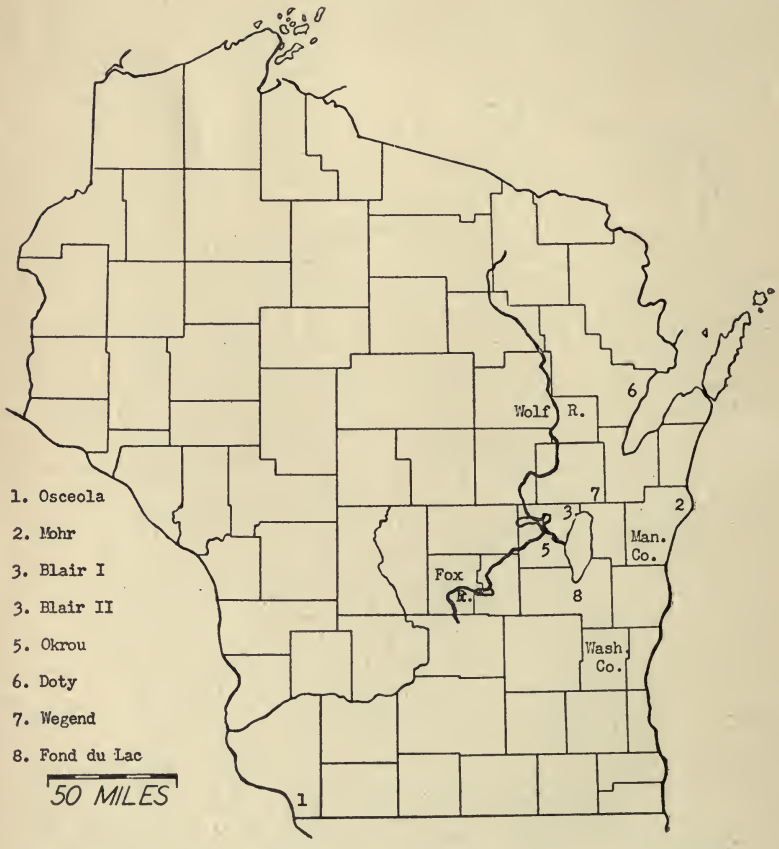


Figure 7. Locations of the Osceola Site, Wisconsin Cache Finds, and Places Noted in the Text.

THE WORLD'S RECORD RELIC HUNT

By Robert G. Lietz

Mr. Silas L. Spengler has jokingly called his latest archeological jaunt "The World's Record Relic Hunt."

Last May, Mr. Spengler in company with his wife Margaret and sons William and David visited a site three times and collected over 200 artifacts in only seven hours.

The site is in Winnebago county about one mile above the Fox River entrance to Lake Butte des Mortes. Because of its proximity to several graves of the Grignon family who were early settlers in Wisconsin, Mr. Spengler has called it the "Grignon Site".

Collecting the amount of material mentioned is indeed quite a feat, but what is even more unusual is the variety of material represented. Many copper implements were found including a finely made awl, several blades, a spatulate awl, fish hooks, and a large number of copper fragments. Stone implements include projectile points, scrapers, drills and blades. A variety of pottery was also collected, including several Effigy Mound rimsherds.

Four prehistoric cultures are represented, including Old Copper, Upper Mississippi, Woodland and Iroquois (represented by a fragment of an Iroquois trumpet pipe). Historic materials such as beads, a horseshoe and what appear to be fragments of German silver were also found.

Mr. Spengler who resides in Menasha, Wisconsin has long been interested in Indian lore particularly in Winnebago county. His collection numbers over 1000 specimens from Winnebago county and the Fox River Valley. Mr. Spangler plans to donate part of his "Grignon" find to Phillip's Academy at Andover, Massachusetts.

Some of the Specimens from the Grignon Site

ARCHEOLOGICAL NOTES

Meetings

The meetings of the Wisconsin Archeological Society are held the 3rd Monday of each month in the Conference Room, 2nd floor of the Milwaukee Public Museum. No formal meetings are held from June to September of each year. The following notes have been taken from all meetings beginning with the fall of 1950 until the present time.

At the September 18, 1950 meeting of the Wisconsin Archeological Society our treasurer Ernest Schug tendered his resignation to the Board of Directors. After some discussion on the matter it was finally decided to hold over any action in the naming of a new treasurer until the October meeting. Secretary Kermit Freckmann informed the Board of Directors of the ever increasing amount of work accruing in the combined positions of Secretary-Editor. He suggested two separate positions be created namely a secretary and an editor. No immediate action followed and is being held over for further study. This having been the opening meeting in the fall of the year, the usual procedure is a rather informal meeting where members participate in the evening's program. This type of meeting is increasing in popularity among the membership and it seems to arouse a great deal of interest in archeology. Members are given an opportunity to discuss and relate their own personal experiences in the archeological field. Mr. Herbert W. Cornell of Milwaukee, an ardent astronomer as well as an archeologist described, in some detail, the forthcoming eclipse of the moon. Mr. William K. Andrew followed with his experiences on a recent trip to the Columbia river district and he exhibited some very interesting archeological specimens, especially some of those fine "Oregon bird points." Secretary Kermit Freckmann spoke on his recent vacation at the Pleasant Lake, Coloma, Wisconsin area. He noted the present condition of many of the once fine mound groups located at the Pleasant lake region. Mr. Freckmann recommended the permanent preservation of one of the last fine groups remaining near the south shore of the lake. Mr.

Will C. McKern, Director of the Milwaukee Public Museum, gave an interesting account of the recent archeological field work being conducted at Aztalan State Park. Miss Nancy Oestreich talked about her work among the Winnebago Indians at the Nebraska reservation.

During the October 16, 1950 meeting of the society, the board of Directors and advisors approved Mr. Robert Lietz Milwaukee as the new treasurer to fill the unexpired term of Treasurer Ernest Schug. President Robert Ritzenthaler appointed the Messrs. Charles Koubeck and William Andrew as the auditing committee. The motion by Dr. Herbert W. Kuhm to place the Aztalan fund into the general fund of the society was carried and so ordered. The Aztalan fund, which amounted to approximately $100.00 was a permanent fund and the purpose for which it had been created was for perpetual care of the Indian mounds and manners on the society's property at Aztalan. However, since this property was donated to the State of Wisconsin for park purposes, it is obvious this fund is now obsolete.

Messrs.Phil H. Wiegand of Wauwatosa, Frank Burkhardt, Mayville, Wisconsin and William Kennedy of McGregor, Iowa were elected as annual members.

At the regular evening meeting presided by President Robert Ritzenthaler, 30 members and friends heard Mr. Warren Wittry of Madison, Wisconsin speak on an analysis of an archaic Indian culture in Wisconsin.

At the November 20, 1950 meeting of the Wisconsin Archeological Society a report of the auditing committee was received and approved regarding the accounts of former treasurer Ernest Schug and the newly appointed treasurer Robert Lietz. The balance on deposit $347.48 proved correct; of this amount approximately $300.00 was collected by the new treasurer since he assumed office. The Board of Directors recommended that after one full year of non-payment of dues, the delinquent member be omitted from the mailing list. By unanimous vote the directors decided to dispense with the December meeting. As all December meetings usually conflict with the holiday season it may be noted that this may

eventually be the future policy of the society to eliminate the December meeting. The Board of Directors also approved a motion made, raise all Institutional fees to $2.00 per year. This will effect subscription holders only when their present dues expire.

Mr. Paul A. Lawrence, Park Supervisor of Wyalusing State Park was elected as an annual member.

The evening's entertainment consisted of a sound film from the British Information Bureau describing in very interesting and educational manner, the ancient history of the British Isles. It commenced with the old stone age, through the new stone age, into the bronze, and finally terminating in the iron age. A number of British organizations in archeology and anthropology cooperated in the making of this film. It was well received by the audience as was evident by the discussions among members following the completion of the program.

At the January 15, 1950 meeting of the society held in the Conference Room of the Milwaukee Public Museum, President Robert Ritzenthaler presided. The editorial committee emphasized more articles are needed for the publication of the "Wisconsin Acheologist"—especially short articles accompanied with a photograph, print, or drawing. A motion was made by Mr. McKern and seconded by Dr. Kuhm to go ahead with plans for the annual picnic dinner at Jacobus park, Milwaukee, to be held on the 3rd Monday in June, 1951. A committee consisting of the Messrs. William Andrew, Herman Zander, and John Douglass was appointed to arrange the site and necessary entertainment for the day. The speaker of the evening, Miss Patricia Ewen was introduced by Mr. Andrew. Miss Ewen spent the summer in Europe but centered her archeological work in Denmark and Sweden showing the most representative phases of prehistoric life, through the various stone ages and through the Viking and Iron age. Her lecture was augmented with illustrations and drawings from the Universities of Oslo and Copenhagen. Miss Ewen's talk was given in an informal manner and was very well received. The discussions that followed her talk, showed how well her subject was regarded.

In Memoriam

Your secretary regrets to announce the passing away of four of our dearly beloved members. The Messrs. Stoughton Faville, Lake Mills, Wis.; W. A. Titus, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin; John M. Douglass, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Ellison Orr of Waukon, Iowa; will be sadly missed by the Wisconsin Archeological Society, as each has contributed to the archeology and history of our state. These gentlemen will never be forgotten as each has left behind him the fruits of his labor in records which help to satisfy mankind's never quenching thirst for more knowledge.

ATTENTION

THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGIST needs material. The Editorial Committee invites you to send in for publication any articles, long or short, relating to Wisconsin archeology. The Committee is particularly interested in obtaining material from members outside Milwaukee County. You may want to describe an interesting artifact in your collection; or record a new campsite, mound group, garden bed, or petro glyph. We do not expect literary masterpieces of our members. In most cases a simple statement or explanation of the facts is all that is necessary. Please include any photographs, drawings, and maps which may help explain your text. Photos should be at least 5x7 in size.

Send all material to:

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Kansas City, Mo.

THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGIST

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WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Incorporated 1903

For the purpose of advancing the study and preservation of Wisconsin Indian Antiquities.

Meets every third Monday of the month at the Milwaukee Public Museum Conference Room. (Except during July and August.)

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THE MINING AND USE OF LEAD BY THE WISCONSIN INDIANS

By Dr. Herbert W. Kuhm

Indian artifacts of copper have generally been highly prized items for archeologists, and deservedly so, for they are decorative as well as utilitarian, and their scarcity makes them outstandingly significant. By contrast, Indian artifacts of lead are not nearly as sought after, nor was lead as practicable a medium for manufacture of artifacts as copper. Further, copper was mined by the aborigines for their own use, whereas lead was mined primarily as a medium of trade for the white man's commodities.

Strangely enough, the mining of lead by the Indians of Wisconsin was carried on for centuries on comparably as vast a scale as that of copper. The more humble and less gaudy metal out of which was manufactured lead shot, that essential for hunting and warfare, was produced in most generous measure precisely from the the district of Wisconsin which we call "Lead Region," together with the adjacent portions of Iowa and Illinois. This Upper Mississippi Valley lead district, which contains 2,500 square miles in southwestern Wisconsin, northwest Illinois and northeast Iowa, produced most of the country's lead from 1830 to 1870. About 90 per cent of the area of the Upper Mississippi lead deposits is in the Wisconsin field, comprising Grant, Lafayette and Iowa counties.

Lead minerals are usually associated with zinc minerals, there being but few places where the minerals of one group occur without the other. In the Wisconsin district the lead and zinc ores occur together in irregular masses in limestones,

where the lime has been dissolved and the cavities thus formed filled with secondary deposits of galena.

Southwestern Wisconsin, and that part of Illinois adjoining it on the south, together with an adjacent portion of Iowa, was long famous for its lead mines. There appears to be no record of the Indians having worked these deposits previous to the advent of the white man, or that the Indians of this area understood the art of smelting the ore. It seems certain that the French visited the Lead Region as early as 1683, and probably taught the Indians how to smelt the ore. A century and a half after the first visits of the French, the Sac and Fox Indians were producing pigs of lead, in considerable quantities, for trading purposes with the whites.

Whittlesey, in his Recollections, 1832, says: "How long the presence of this mineral has been known, and its value understood, is not exactly known; but there are mines which were worked by the French soon after they ascended the Mississippi. The Indians could scarcely have found use for it before the introduction of firearms among them."

Davidson says: "Nicholas Perrot, commanding for the king at the Nadouesioux (Sioux) took formal possession of the country about the Bay des Puants (Green Bay) and the upper Mississippi, 8th May, 1689. He called attention to our Wisconnsin lead mines, discovered, it is believed, by a previous explorer, Le Sueur, who came to the Upper Mississippi from Green Bay, in 1683."

The Upper Mississippi lead mines were worked by the native Indians from early times. As early as 1690, Nicholas Perrot reported the existence of a rich lead mine on a branch of the Mississippi. There is evidence that lead was also being taken out by the Indians near the Wisconsin River, for in 1766 Jonathan Carver saw quantities of the metal in the Sac village, and he describes the place of origin as being in the vicinity of Blue Mounds.

Mining by the Indians was carried on crudely at many points in the lead region throughout the eighteenth century, as the pock-marked condition of the terrain when the first white miners arrived would suggest. About 1824 Lt. Martin

Thomas, superintendent of the western lead mines, visited the Upper Mississippi mines and found the Sac and Fox Indians working the lead diggings. "The squaws are the miners," he reported. "Some of them smelt their ore in Indian furnaces."

When pioneer American miners entered the lead district, they found it perforated with ancient shallow diggings, and encountered Indians still engaged in scooping out lead ore "near the grass roots," using stone picks, bone spades, wooden shovels and gun barrels for crowbars. The Indians only skimmed the surface as a rule; although occasionally they drifted into hillsides for some distance, and when they reached "cap-rock" would build a fire under it and then crack it by dashing cold water on the heated surface. They tools, in the earliest times, were buck-horns, many of which were found in abandoned drifts by the early white settlers. Later they obtained hoes, shovels and crow-bars from the traders to whom they sold the lead. The Indians loaded their ore at the bottom of the shaft into tough deer-skins, the bundle being hoisted to the surface or dragged up inclined planes by long thongs of hide.

Many of these Indian "leads," abandoned by the aborigines when the work of developing them became too great for their simple tools, were afterwards taken possession of by whites and found to be among the best in the region.

Early writers generally agree that the Indian mining was almost wholly conducted by old men and squaws, the bucks doing the smelting. However this may be, it is certain that in later days many bucks also worked in these primitive mines.

Between 1815 and 1820, Capt. John Shaw visited the Fever River mines on several occasions, and there saw the Indians smelting lead in rude furnaces. He writes that at one time he bought seventy tons of Indian-smelted metal from them "and still left much at the furnace."

Schoolcraft visited the region in 1820 and narrated thus of the Indian diggings: "The ore found is the common sulphuret of lead, with a broad foliated structure of high metallic luster.

It occurs massive and disseminated, in a reddish loam, resting upon limestone rock, and sometimes is seen in small veins pervading the rock; but it has been chiefly explored in alluvial soil. It generally occurs in beds or veins which have no great width, and run in a certain direction 300 or 400 yards—then cease, or are traced into some crevice in the rocks, having the appearance of a regular vein. At this stage of the pursuit most of the diggings have been abandoned.

"The lead ore at these mines is now exclusively dug by the Fox Indians and, as is usual among savage tribes, the chief labor devolves upon the women. The old men also take part in these labors, but the warriors and young men hold themselves above it. They employ the hoe, shovel, pickaxe, and crowbar in taking up the ore. These things are supplied by the traders.

"No shafts are sunk, not even the simplest kind, and the windlass and buckets are unknown among them. They run drifts into the hills so far as they can conveniently go without the use of gunpowder, and if a trench caves in it is abandoned. They always dig down at such an angle that they can walk in and out of the pits, and I descended into one of these which had probably been carried down for 40 feet. All this is the work of the Indian women and old men, who discover a degree of perseverance and industry which is deserving of commendation.

"When a quantity of ore has been gotten out it is carried in baskets by the women to the banks of the Mississippi, and then ferried over in canoes to the island, where it is purchased by the traders. The traders smelt the ore upon the island in furnaces. Formerly the Indians were in the habit of smelting their ore themselves, upon log heaps, by which a great portion was converted into what are called lead ashes and thus lost. Now the traders induce them to search about the sites of these ancient fires, and carefully collect the lead ashes, for which they receive $1 per bushel at the island, payable in merchandise."

Dr. Moses Meeker, in his Early History of the Lead Region, describes the smelting of lead near Galena, Illinois. About

1822, the Sac and Fox Indians used log furnaces, in western Wisconsin, for the purposes of smelting lead, having been taught this by the early French or Spaniards.

At first the Indians reduced the mineral by throwing it on top of large fires. Large logs would be placed on the ground and smaller pieces of wood piled around and the ore heaped on. The fire would be set in the evening, and in the morning shapeless pieces of lead would be found in cakes, or in small holes scratched in the earth under the logs; or sometimes in shapeless masses.

Gradually the aborigines improved upon this crude process, and left upon the earth's surface evidence of the primitive smelters used by them. These were made by digging in a hill slope a hopper-like pit two or three feet wide at the top, the sides sloping toward a point but stopping short when the bottom was still some eight inches in width. The sides of the opening were lined with flat stones while longish narrow ones were laid grate-wise above the bottom. A trench, called the "eye," was dug from the lower side, extending under the bottom of the hopper. This trench was filled with dry wood, brush, and other material while the hopper was filled with ore. When the fuel was fired the ore melted down in part and the molten lead fell through the stones at the bottom of the hopper, through the fire trench, and was caught in a tiny pool scooped out near its lower end. When the whites began operations in the mines, their furnaces were practically identical with the later Indian furnaces. In 1815 about twenty rude furnaces were said to be in operation by the lead miners in the vicinity of the present site of Galena alone.

Reuben Gold Thwaites, in his Notes on Early Lead Minning, states that "no evidence exists, nor is it probable, that the aboriginal inhabitants of the Upper Mississippi Valley made any considerable use of lead previous to the appearance among them of French missionaries, explorers, and fur-traders. The French were continually on the search for beds of mineral, and questioned the Indians very closely regarding their probably whereabouts. The savages, although superstitious with regard to minerals, appear soon to have made known to

the whites the deposits of lead in the tract which now embraces the counties of Grant, Iowa, and Lafayette, in Wisconsin; Jo Daviess and Carroll counties, in Illinois; Dubuque county, in Iowa, and portions of eastern Missouri. The fame of this rich lead bearing region, when once brought to the notice of the pioneers of New France, became widespread. The French introduced firearms among the Northwestern Indians, and induced them to hunt, on a large scale, fur-bearing animals; thus lead at once assumed a value in the eyes of the latter, both for use as bullets n their own weapons, and as an article of traffic with the traders."

Nicolet visited the Wisconsin and Illinois Indians in 1634, and doubtless was the first to teach them the use of gunpowder. Radisson and Groseillers followed in 1658-58, and heard of lead mines among the Boeuf Sioux, apparently in the neighborhood of Dubuque. In 1673, Joliet and Marquette, when stopping with their voyageurs at the Indian town of Kaskaskia, must again have given the Illinois an example of the use of fire-arms and the utility of lead, if, indeed, this tribe had not already had some traffic in the ore with wandering traders and coureurs des bois operating at the head of the Mississippi River or Lake Michigan, of whose presence in the region we catch faint glimpses in the earliest records of exploration.

The map made by Jonathan Carver, as a result of his Northwestern travels in 1766, places lead mines at Blue Mounds, just south of the Wisconsin River. He found ore in the streets of the "Great Town of the Saukies," about the site of the present Prairie du Sac, and appears to have ascended the principal mound, which he says "abounded in lead."

As Charles E. Brown, in his Notes on the Occurence and Use of Bone, Shell, Hematite and Lead Implements in Wisconsin, succinctly states: "Considering the extent of the lead deposits in southwestern Wisconsin and in the adjoining portions of Illinois and Iowa, and which several tribes now or formerly resident in this region are known to have worked in a primitive manner, it is surprising that so very small a

number of articles made of this mineral have been discovered in this state. Among these articles are a boatstone; a number of small disk-shaped beads; a cone; a small number of pipes, and several turtle-shaped effigies. The pipes are of such form and workmanship as to indicate that they were fashioned during the historic period. Fragments and small lumps of galena have been obtained from Indian village sites at various places in the Fox-Wisconsin Valley, and in other sections of the state. They have also been obtained from burial places. It is highly probable that lead was exchanged in prehistoric times between the local Indians and those of the Ohio valley. The Indians of the latter region may themselves have visited the lead region to obtain the ore."

In a later issue of The Wisconsin Archeologist containing a check-list of Wisconsin Indian Implements (Vol. 8, No. 3, New Series), Brown lists the following Indian artifacts of lead:

Beads (peforated disks).
Bangles or pendants (circular).
Turtle effigies. Rude representations of turtles.
Pipes, probably recent.
Pipes made of stone, lead inlaid ornamentation. Recent.
Galena crystals or pieces, on many sites and in mounds.

Fur further data on the aforementioned lead pipes one scans George A. West's monumental work on "Tobacco, Pipes and Smoking Customs of the American Indians," and finds that "a considerable number of lead pipes, patterned after Indian forms, have been found in Wisconsin and adjoining states. This can be accounted for from proximity of the lead mines. An examination of a dozen or more pipes, made of lead, reveals the fact that many of them were cast in well-made moulds. Others were carved from pieces of the metal. These carved pipes are elbow shaped, unornamented, and show evidence of being scraped into shape. All lead pipes have a stem cavity at about right angles to that of the bowl. Some of those that are cast in the Siouan Calumet form. Others are much like the European trade pipe in shape. None of them are thought to older than the coming of the French to the Great Lakes region.

Plains Indian Pipes Inlaid with Lead

They cannot be classed as prehistoric, but are worthy of careful consideration."

In the West collection of pipes in the Milwaukee Public Museum are several lead pipes, one of which is from Little Traverse Bay and was found about ten feet below the surface, and two other pipes of this type are in the collection of the Oshkosh Public Museum. In the Logan Museum, Beloit, is a lead pipe, of Calumet type, with a square face, from Racine County, Wisconsin. A very rare pipe, made entirely of lead, was in the private collection of the late Dr. E. J. W. Notz; the high comb on the top of its stemmed base was unsually ornate.

Many of the Calumet pipes of the Great Lakes region are ornamented with geometric designs, inlaid with lead in many instances. In almost every collection may be found pipe-bowls that have been broken and mended by cutting grooves and filling them with lead. In many instances the work of repair entailed more labor than would have been necessary in the making of a new pipe, which may indicate that the pipe-bowls, thus restored, were probably heirlooms of individuals or much-treasured by a community, probably to a certain reverence in which they were held.

Writing of leaded and lead-inlaid pipes, Mr. West, in his aforementioned monograph, notes that "lead was frequently employed by the Indians of the Upper Mississippi-Great Lakes Area in decorating and mending Calumets and other types of pipes. In some instances, the bowl, made of one piece of stone and the base from another, were neatly joined and held together by inlaids of lead. This applies more particularly to pipes of the Siouan type. Micmac pipes are occasionally encountered with the base broken away, but replaced and held in position by means of inlaid strips of lead. In the Mississippi-Ohio Valley and the adjoining areas some effigy forms of birds and animals are provided with eyes of lead.

"In view of the knowledge we possess at the present time, it is reasonable to assume that the Indians of the Upper Mississippi-Great Lakes Area had not learned the art of smelting lead previous to the advent of white men. Further, we know that lead had to go through the smelting process before it

could be used for inlay work. The conclusion must then follow that metal-inlaid work on pipes, whether for ornament or repair, is the result of contact with the white man.

"In preparing the stone pipe for inlaying, the grooves, circles and figures are cut out to the depth of an eighth of an inch or more and at an angle which leaves the bottom of the cut a trifle wider than the top, thus forming a dove-tail. In most cases, melted lead is poured into the excavations, allowed to cool and then smoothed down and polished. In some instances of repair, the lead was crowded into the grooves in a cold form. An occasional stone, leaded pipe, for pottery pipes are very seldom if ever leaded, may be a prehistoric heirloom that the Indian treasured and sought to improve in appearance by the use of lead.

"The Indian appreciated the fact that catlinite and steatite stand the heat of molten lead without injury to the edge of the excavation. With limestone it is found that the leaded part never has a finished smooth surface, as the part of the limestone coming in contact with the hot lead tends to become calcined and chalky."

In the Milwaukee Public Museum are many fine examples of leaded Calumets and elbow pipes. Some inlay were purely for ornamentation and others for the purpose of repair. In one instance, at least, the bowl and stem were fitted to each other and leaded, each being from a different block of catlinite. In the same collection are several parts of pipes for leading but not completed, thus showing the undercutting or dove-tailing that preceded leading.

In the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York City, is a wonderful series of inlaid Calumets. One of these, which was collected among the Osage Indians, Oklahoma, shows meticulous workmanship. Of the scores of points cut out preparatory to leading, none seems to have been broken. Another remarkable specimen is a pipe with the top inch of the bowl inlaid with calcite, the stem containing turtle and snake inlays, the turtle being of lead and the snake of calcite, bordered with lead.

Another beautiful pipe in the Heye collection is a calumet

Lead-Inlaid Pipes From Wisconsin

of calcite, attributed to the Prairie Sioux. The color of the pipe is a dark green, with the inlays of the bowl and stem of red catlinite and lead. It is the epitome of inlaying with lead, and almost approaches mosaic work in workmanship. The Blackfoot Indians were especially skillful in ornamenting their pipes in this manner.

The Menomini Indians of Wisconsin were also skilled in producing pipe-bowls and even pipe-stems containing lead inlaid work. An example of their ability in the George A. West Collection of Pipes in the Milwaukee Public Museum has a rectangular pipe-bowl of black steatite inlaid with lead designs. The stem of this pipe is unique in having its flat sides decorated with silver and copper inlays. Leaded pipes are not rare wherever the Siouan Calumet is found.

A leaded effigy Calumet, found in Ohio and now in the Logan Museum, Beloit, has the bowl in the shape of a human head with the face toward the smoker. The bowl- and stem-holes are reinforced with lead.

The ornamentation of stone pipes with lead and other inlays is not confined to the rectangular Calumet and other Siouan types. The Eastern Cree were expert in inlaying their Micmac and lead with catlinite, the pipe-bowls being lined with lead. A modified form of Micmac pipe, from Illinois, showing a different design of lead inlaying, is in the Neville Public Museum, Green Bay. A zigzag band of lead, the emblem of lightning, encircles the bowl.

A sad commentary on the inherent covetousness of the whites is evident in the narrative of Spoon Decorah, noted Winnebago, who, in an interview with Reuben Gold Thwaites, said: "Our people once owned the lead mines in Southwestern Wisconsin. I have seen Winnebagoes working in them, long before the Black Hawk War. There were a good many at work in this way, nearly all the time in summer. Some dig lead for their own use, but most of them got it out to trade off for supplies of all sorts. They made lead-mining their regular work. Every fall and spring hunters would go down to the mines and get a stock of lead for bullets, sometimes giving goods for it and sometimes furs.

"When the whites began to come among the mines, the Big Father said to his Winnebago children: 'I want this land and will have my own people to work it, and whenever you go out hunting come by this way, and you will be supplied with lead.' But this agreement was never carried out by the White Father (meaning the President of the United States), or his agents. Never was a bag of lead or a bag of shot presented to us. This was a very great sorrow to our people. For many years there was much sorrowful talk among the Winnebagoes, at the manner in which the Big Father had treated them, with regard to the mines. No, we never saw any of our lead again, except what we dearly paid for; and we never will have any given to us, unless it be fired at us out of white men's guns, to kill us off."

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THE MENOMINEE INDIAN SAWMILL: A SUCCESSFUL COMMUNITY PROJECT

One of the most prosperous groups of Indians in the United States today is the Menominee tribe of Wisconsin. Why? Because 42 years ago someone had the foresight to intelligently utilize the rich timber resources on the Reservation by combining the establishment of a tribal sawmill with a long range cutting program based on the then unique idea of selective logging. As a result of this program there is an estimated one billion board feet of timber still standing on the Reservation, and the sawmill, which has grown into a two million dollar a year industry, not only provides employment for 550 workers, but also pays nearly the entire expense of running the Reservation.

The foundation for this plan was laid back in 1885 when an act of Congress authorized the Menominee Indians to cut timber on their 236,000 acre Reservation on a contract basis. The Indians did the logging with the Government selling it to sawmills in the general area. As a result the Government turned over a profit of two million dollars to the tribe. In 1908 a significant step was taken. In that year an act of Congress, sponsored by Wisconsin's Senator Robert M. La-Follette Sr., was passed which formulated the economic destiny of the tribe down to the present. This act authorized the Menominee, under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior to cut timber, erect a sawmill with the profits from the previous logging operations, and manufacture and sell the lumber products. Furthermore it required preferential employment be given the Indians, and set up a timber conservation program based on selective cutting with the annual cut limited to twenty million board feet, which theoretically represented the annual increment growth. This twenty million figure has turned out to be a rather remarkable guess, for today the volume of standing timber is about the same as when the plan was inaugurated. The act provided for a mill manager to be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, and a staff of trained foresters to supervise the cutting.

Operations continued until 1925 when the mill burned down. It was replaced the following year with steel and concrete

structure and, electrical power installed. This mill is in operation today with improvements having been added to make it modern in every respect. The mill, and its related activities, is nominally under the direction of the Superintendent of the Reservation appointed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but except for very broad policy, complete control is in the hands of a manager hired on the open market. The manager is now paid an annual salary of $15,000 out of tribal funds as set up in the mill budget in which the Indians have a strong voice. The managers have always been non-Indians. The employees are paid the prevailing wage rate, and the number varies from 350 in slack season to 550 when the mill is in full operation. These figures include the sawmill workers (now working in two shifts of 45 hours each); the sawyers, skid men, truckers, etc. working on the logging operation; the forestry division consisting of supervisiors, fire wardens, and towermen; and the employees in the warehouse, and the general store run by the mill. Of these about 80 per cent are Indians. The majority of the 20 percent non-Indians are employed as loggers, with the Indians preferring work in the mill. The usual explanation for this is that work in the mill is easier.

The sawmill, located in the village of Neopit, consists of the sawmill proper, a planing mill, two seasoning kilns, a large seasoning yard, a sorting shed, and a warehouse, plus a battery of mobile equipment including trucks, portable cranes, a diesel locomotive and cars. While the biggest source of revenue is from the sale of lumber, particularly hemlock and hardwood, the mill also produces by-products such as posts, poles, pulpwood, box bolts, and even the chips are sold for fuel or use in plastics.

The Forestry Division is separate from the Sawmill Division although the two work hand-in-hand. The Forestry Division consists of three trained forestry men: a chief and two assistants, all non-Indians on civil service, but paid for out of tribal funds. In addition there are 15 Indian helpers working as fire wardens and towermen. The Forestry Division is responsible for selecting the area and trees to be cut,

Menominee Sawmill at Neopit

and maintaining the forest by means of a fire prevention program, blister rust control, and planting. Actually very little planting has been done, only a total of 700 acres of pines, while the hardwoods have successfully seeded themselves.

There are 175,000 acres, nearly 75% of the total Reservation, set aside for lumbering purposes. This land is held in tribal trust as are all Menominee lands. For supervisional purposes this area is divided into 13 blocks, and cutting is rotated so that a maximum of 30 per cent of the standing timber is removed from each bloc about once every ten years.

The forestry supervisors are responsible for selecting the

type and amount of timber to be cut. Under their supervision the trees to be cut are marked by means of a spray gun and yellow paint. The sawyers then move in to fell the trees. Of the twelve logging gangs three use power saws, and the others use two-man hand saws. For skidding the logs out to the roads either tractors or horse teams are used. The latter is preferred as being less destructive. A portable power loader lifts the logs on to the trucks to be taken to the mill. The supervisors inspect the operation to check on damage caused by falling trees, and to see that the right trees have been cut.

Another important task of the Forestry Division is in the field of fire prevention. There are four lookout towers on the Reservation and two ranger stations with enough fire-fighting apparatus to equip a crew of 200. At the central office charts are kept on wind velocity, elapsed time since the last rain, greenness of the vegetation, so that the potential fire danger can be accurately judged and precautions taken if necessary. The success with which the Forestry Division has managed the Menominee timber lands is summarized in a statement made by the Chief Forester of the Indian Bureau who on a recent trip said that this is the most scientifically managed forest in the Indan Bureau.

What is the impact of the mill on the community? The simple fact is that the mill almost entirely subsidizes the Reservation. Besides providing regular jobs for the majority of the men, it pays for part or all of such services as education, medical care, enforcement of law and order, recreation and social welfare.

In the field of education, for example, the tribe under contract with the Bureau of Catholic Missions maintains a day school at Neopit, and a boarding school at Keshena at a cost of $35,000 a year. Two years ago some of the load was taken off the tribe through Federal subsidies to States being extendtended to the Menominee. This resulted in the establishing of the first non-parochial school on the Reservation, and took over the expense of transportation and tuition for high school students. Four years ago the tribe established a $1000 schol-

arship to be given annually to the outstanding high school student. The tribe has also set up a loan fund to be used for higher education. No interest is charged on such loans, but the student must take out an insurance policy.

About $30,000 a year is paid to maintain a hospital under contract with the Bureau of Catholic Missions. Admission is free to this 50 bed hospital, staffed by two doctors and eight nurses. If the patient must be sent elsewhere for specialized treatment, the tribe will pay the costs if the individual cannot afford it. A contract dentist paid by the tribe provides care for children under 18 year of age, but adults must pay for their own dental work.

Law and order is provided by the tribe which hires four police officers, six night watchmen, a truant officer, and a game warden. A tiny jail is maintained, and a court (the judge at present is a woman) operates to handle cases below the rank of felony. The more serious charges are handled through the Federal Court at Milwaukee.

Up until recently the tribe took care of relief and welfare, but the load has been substantially reduced since the government extended social security to the group. One full time employee handles social welfare at present.

There is also a tribal loan fund of $450,000 set up to assist individuals in building or improving homes., setting up small businesses, etc., at an interest rate of two percent.

The profits from the mill has supported these agencies and activities from year to year with the exception of a brief period during the depression. In addition an annual payment thought of as "stumpage fees" is paid to each of the 2900 persons on the tribal roll. The amount has varied from 30 to 50 dollars per person, depending upon the amount of profit from the mill.

While the Menominee have been rated as the second most prosperous tribe in the country, with an estimated average income of $1800, it must not be thought poverty and hardship has been eliminated. There is plenty of sub-standard housing to be seen, and many homes with no modern conveniences. As in every group there are some who can't or won't hold

down a regular job, and the tribe spends some $4,000 a year in direct relief. While it is the only place where I've ever seen an Indian driving a new Buick, there are many cars of ancient vintage in service. Compared to other Indian groups in the state, however, the economic situation of the Menominee is an enviable one.

What is the attitude of the Menominee toward the mill? The consensus of opinion seems to be that it is the best thing that ever happened to them. This does not mean that it is all beer and skittles. There have been many gripes about the mill and even some strikes. Some feel that wages should be higher, and some have objected to the spending of large amounts of tribal funds on more modern equipment. Some think the Indians should have more to say about the management of the mill, and there have been complaints about the cutting program. But the real and growing concern seems to lie in the fact that the Menominee population, now 3300, is growing so rapidly, while the amount of forest area remains fixed, that before long the mill will not be able to adequately support the Reservation.

What are the implications of the Menominee project for the Applied Anthropologist? For one thing, it is an encouraging example of how much one imaginative person can contribute to the betterment of a people. Perhaps the plan itself may serve as an example in the improvement of conditions in other Indian communities. The chief problem of the American Indian is still an economic one, and it would seem that thought should be directed first toward improvements in this sphere.

—**Robert E. Ritzenthaler,**
Milwaukee Public Museum

FOLSOMOID POINTS IN WISCONSIN

By Robert E. Ritzenthaler and Paul Scholz

One of the most exciting finds in the history of American archeology occurred in 1926 near the tiny town of Folsom, New Mexico. Here was found a unique type of flint point in association with the bones of an extinct form of bison. This was the first evidence of the existence of man in the Americas during the ice age. Since then a number of collaborating finds have been made with Folsom points in situ with the bones of such pleistocene animals as camel, mammoth, and horse to establish the presence of the Indian in the New World an estimated 20,000 years ago (although recent Carbon 14 dates indicate a considerable less antiquity.)

The Folsom point itself is a very distinctive type. The so-called classic type has the general shape of an upturned rowboat. The base is concave and somewhat flattened at the center, with ears projecting in either side. The diagnostic feature of the point is a longitudinal groove on either face resulting from the removal of single long flake from the base almost to the tip. It exhibits fine workmanship particularly in terms of pressure flaking. A second type, the so-called "generalized Folsom" point is longer, without the projecting ears, and with a shorter, less perfect groove.

Considerable speculation revolves about the fact that points closely resembling the generalized type have been found in sporadic areas over much of the region east of the Mississippi River. These occur almost entirely as surface finds and bring up the problem of their relationship with the Folsom culture of the Southwest.

There are a number of theories to account for these geographical egregious finds. One possibility is that they are a result of early trade with the Southwest. They may also represent an example of parallelism where a different people have accidentally hit upon a similar type of projectile point. A third possibility is that this is an old type, the idea of which survived to a diluted degree to become manifest in occasional outcroppings. At this point in our knowledge, one person's theory is about as good as another's.

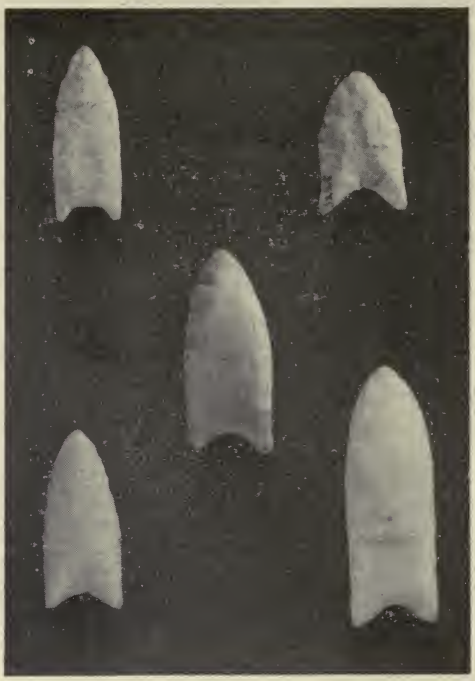

Fig. 1. Milwaukee Public Museum Specimens

Generalized Folsom points have been reported in Wisconsin for many years, and are to be seen in a number of museums, and in some private collections. I think thirty could be assembled without too much difficulty. A casual search in the Milwaukee Public Museum's collections revealed the five here illustrated (Fig. 1). Two are of quartzite and three are chert. The master stroke exists on one face only. Specific location is lacking on all but two, which are recorded as having been found in Dodge and Manitowoc counties.

One of the most interesting specimens to come to our attention was found by L. R. Cooper around 1940 in Crawford County. The feature of this find is that it was not the usual surface find, but occurred in a road cut several feet below the surface in this unglaciated portion of Wisconsin. The point is neatly flaked and has the master stroke on one face (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Crawford County Specimen

The greatest known areal concentration of these points is reported by Paul Scholz. At various times from 1935 to 1940 Mr. Scholz found four points on one site and one on another site two miles away. These five points occurred as surface material in the extreme southwestern portion of Dodge County. Four are quartzite and one is chert. All have the master stroke on one face (Fig. 3).

This factor of location is significant in respect to the problem of determining whether or not these points coincide with the distribution of the five known prehistoric cultures and whether or not any cultural tie exists between such points and one of our local cultures. If you have any such points in your collection, please send the data on them to us at the Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin. Include photos if possible.

Fig. 3. Dodge County Specimens from the Paul Schulz Collection

THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGIST

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(New Series)

September, 1951

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Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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Meets every third Monday of the month at the Milwaukee Public Museum Conference Room. (Except during July and August.)

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THE REUTER MOUNDS, MILWAUKEE COUNTY

By Dr. E. G. Bruder

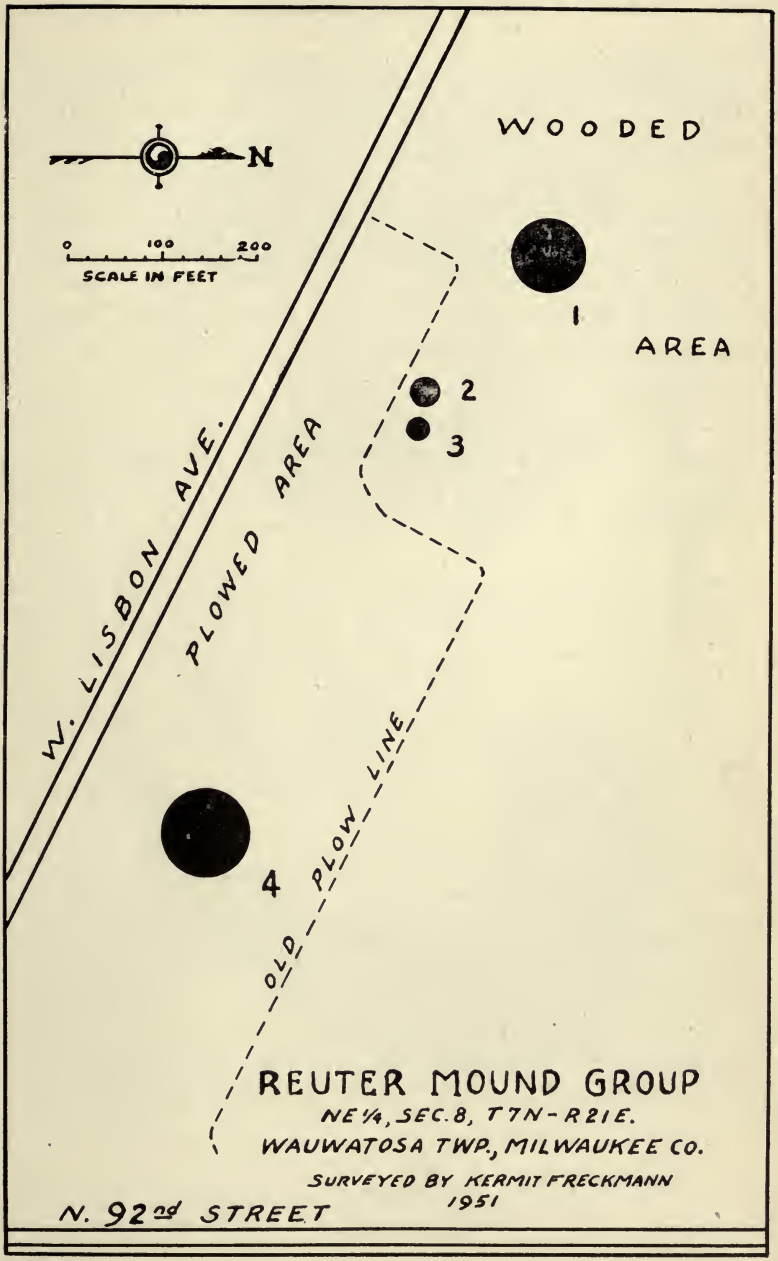
It seems somewhat incredible to report the existence of a group of four conical Indian mounds, hitherto unmentioned in the literature and records, which occur on the northwestern outskirts of the city of Milwaukee. Specifically, they are located in Tn. 7 N, R. 21 E, in the N. E. ¼ os Sectiion 8, Wauwatosa Township, Milwaukee County. The mounds are on property purchased for a new Holy Angels Academy and are bounded by West Lisbon Avenue, North 92nd Street, and West Capitol Drive.

Mound number 1 (fig. 1) is a nicely rounded concial 72 feet in diameter located in a grove of hardwoods with several

large white oak and maple growing on the mound. Southeast of this (160 feet) are mounds 2 and 3, the former 20 feet in diameter and showing evidences of having been opened, the latter 12 feet in diameter. Mound number 4 is located 460 feet to the southeast of mound 3 and is approximately 90 feet in diameter. It occurs in a field under recent cultivation and the mound outlines are difficult to reconstruct. In fact there is some doubt that this is an Indian mound at all, but the two investigators agreed that the likelihood it is a mound is great enough to tentatively record it as such. All four are low mounds, less than 3 feet in height.

An old Indian trail passes the site roughly following what is now Lisbon Ave. and leading into present downtown Milwaukee. The site is named after Mr. Reuter, a first settler in the area.

These mounds were brought to the attention of the Wisconsin Archeological Society through the cooperation of Miss Helen Patten, in charge of purchasing the site, and Sister Mary Evangela B.V.M., principal of the Catholic Girl's High School. Plans are being made to place markers on the site.


N
0 100 200
SCALE IN FEET
WOODED
1
AREA
2
3
W. LISBON AVE.
PLOWED AREA
OLD PLOW LINE
4
REUTER MOUND GROUP
NE¼, SEC. 8, T7N-R21E.
WAUWATOSA TWP., MILWAUKEE CO.
SURVEYED BY KERMIT FRECKMANN
1951
N. 92nd STREET

UPPER MISSISSIPPI COPPER PENDANTS

By Robert Ritzenthaler

Among the rarer of Wisconsin prehistoric Indian specimens are the pendants cut out of thin sheet copper for use as ornaments.

Within the last year four of these (fig. 1) were found at the Walker-Hooper site, Kingston Township, Green Lake County. These occurred as surface finds; in fact, none has ever been reported as found in situ with a burial. However, as all such specimens reported have been found at Upper Mississippi sites, there is no doubt of their cultural affiliation. Furthermore, copper pendants are associated with all three foci of Wisconsin Upper Mississippi culture: Orr, Lake Winnebago, and Grand River. These particular specimens are products of the Grand River Focus.

The shapes of the pendants are somewhat fanciful, but certain shapes are repeated so that pattern types can be established. Three types are shown in the illustration: at the left is the snake, next the keyhole, then two examples of the comma. Other types reported include the oval, triangle, arrowhead, and bird. In some cases the edges are separated, and all have either a notch or hole for suspension.

The precise use of pendants is still a matter of speculation. Their thinness and delicacy makes it obvious that they were used as some type of ornament, and perhaps the most probable theory is that they were worn as ear pendants suspended from the pierced ear lobes.

These specimens are in the possession of Mr. George L. Pasco of Ripon, Wisconsin.

Figure 1

GRANT COUNTY EFFIGY MOUNDS

By Edwin Goke

Drawings by Kermit Freckman

The Engles mound group (fig. 1) consists of eleven mounds located on a high wooded bluff, on the east side of the Pecatonia river two miles east and two miles south of Rewey, Wisconsin, in Iowa County, Township of Mifflin, Southeast ¼ of Section 11.

Included in the group are two panthers, one bear, and six linear mounds. They are the usual low earthen mounds. They are all in good condition except for one on the southeast end which is almost cut in half by a road.

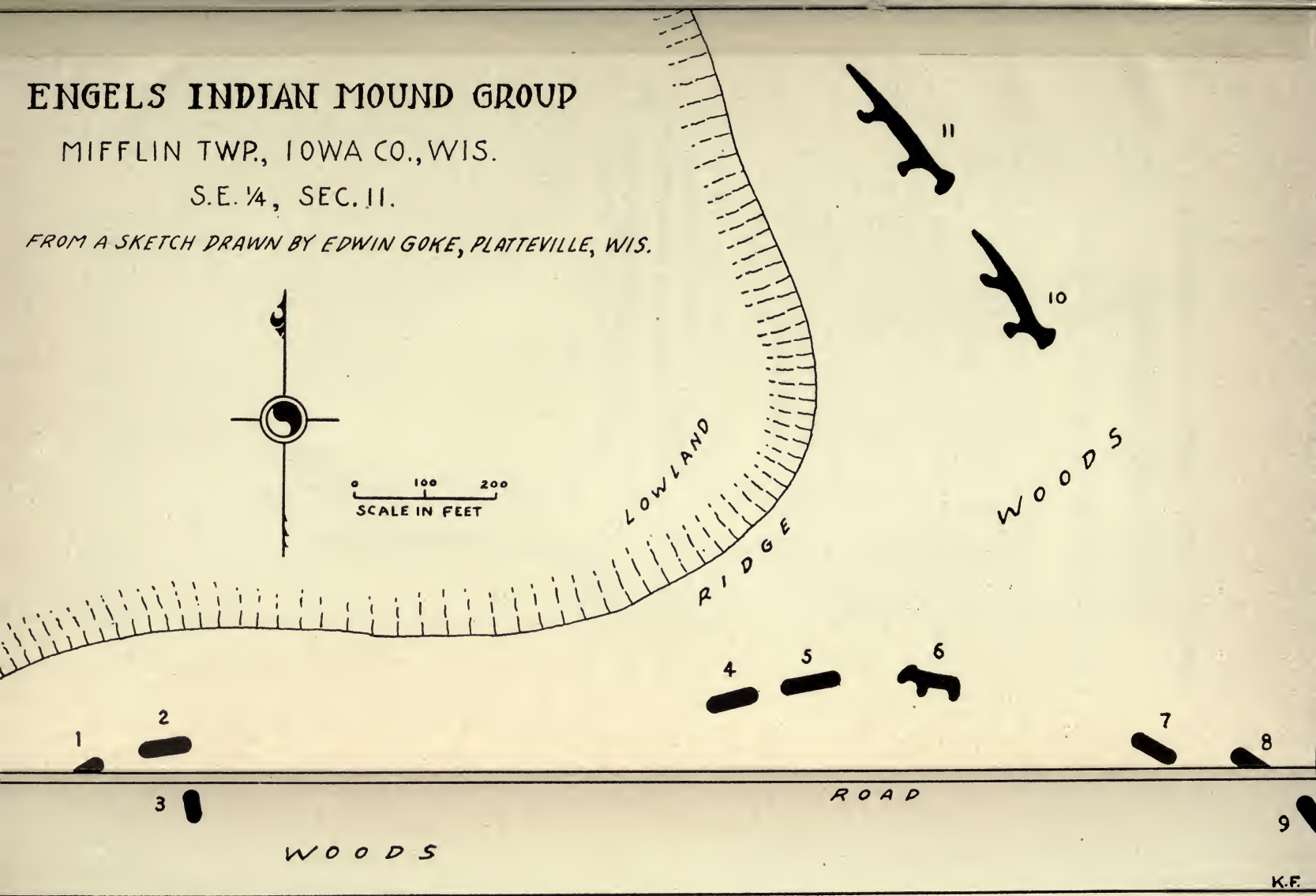
Southwest of these mounds in a cultivated field on a ridge about 1500 feet from first group of mounds, are slight rises indicative of more mounds. The field has been cultivated for so many years they are only about one foot high. I dug into one and found only a light colored soil. The alfalfa hay which was on the field at that time did not grow like the rest; on these mounds it was thin and very short.

ENGELS INDIAN MOUND GROUP

MIFFLIN TWP., IOWA CO., WIS.

S.E. ¼, SEC. 11.

FROM A SKETCH DRAWN BY EDWIN GOKE, PLATTEVILLE, WIS.

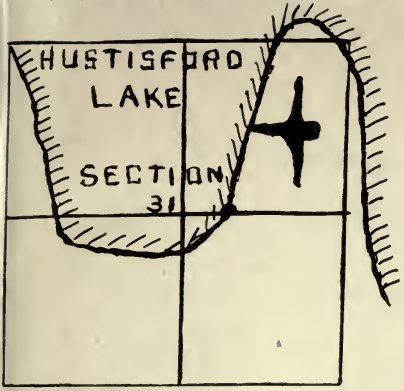


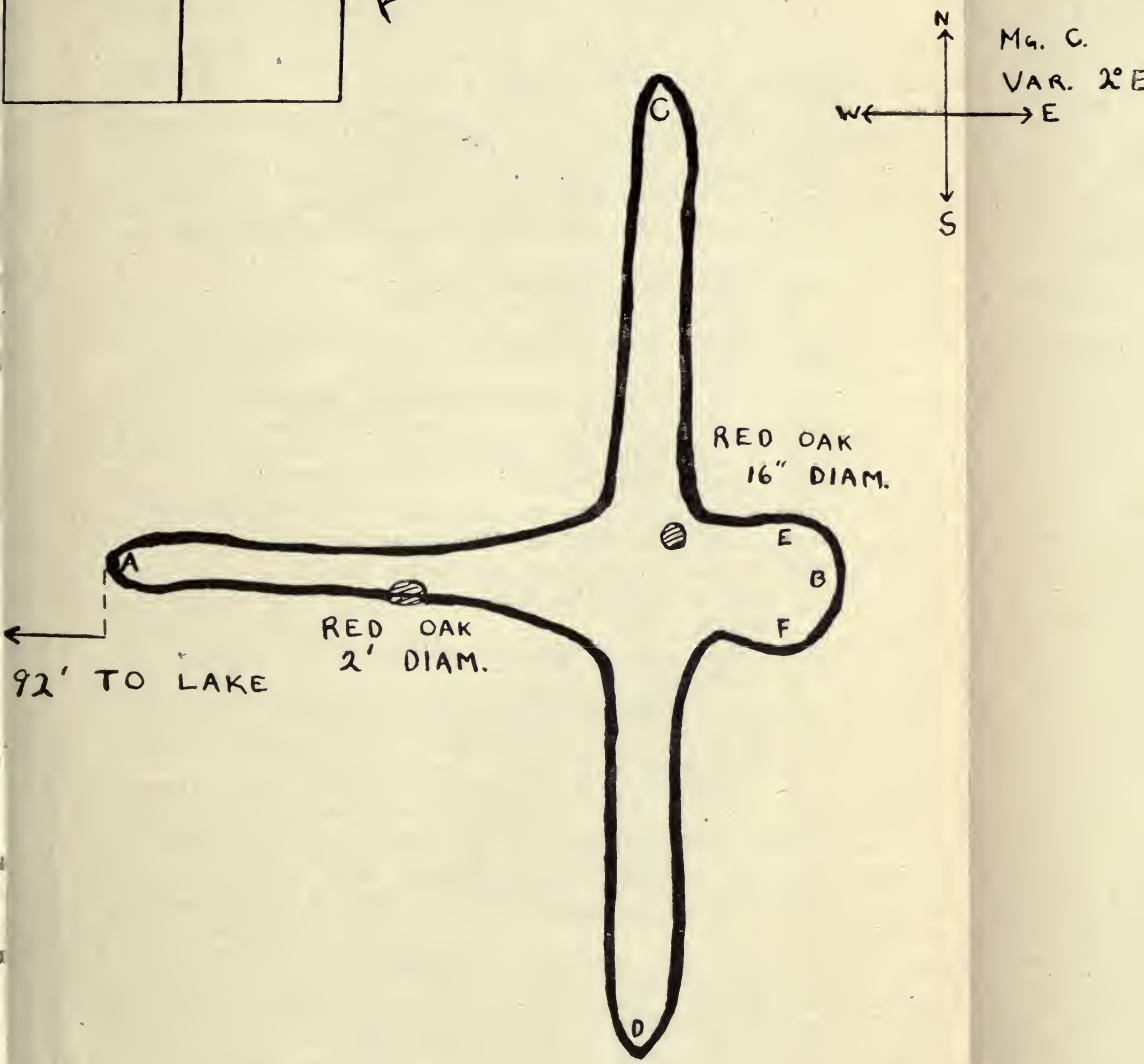
GOOSE EFFIGY MOUND AT HUSTISFORD, DODGE COUNTY, WISCONSIN

By Gustave R. Zilisch and Dr. E. G. Bruder

This beautifully constructed effigy mound is located in the N. E. ¼ of the S. W. ¼ of Section 31 T 11 N—R 16 E, Town of Hubbard, Dodge Co., Wisconsin. A half mile long peninsula jets northward into Hustisford Lake, a widening of the Rock River. Not far from the northern tip of this ridge, on its western slope, this well proportioned goose mound is located. Two large oak trees are protecting this prehistoric earthwork. The largest of these trees has a diameter over two feet. The entire ridge is covered with heavy brush, and second growth trees, native to this area.

The goose is headed due west, toward the open water of the bay. A careful search was made of the entire peninsula, but no evidence of other prehistoric works were found. This goose mound is the southermost of many similar mounds located in this eastern part of Dodge County. It is in excellent state of preservation.





GOOSE EFFIGY MOUND

AT HUSTISFORD WISCONSIN

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WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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NOTABLE INDIAN BURIALS IN WISCONSIN

By Dr. Herbert W. Kuhm

The purpose of this paper is to assemble available information on the notable Indian interments in our state. To this end the files of the **Wisconsin Archeologist,** the **Wisconsin Magazine of History,** the Wisconsin Historical **Collections,** and diverse state, county and city histories were combed for whatever pertinent data they might yield. To facilitate reference, the findings are alphabetically presented.

ASHWAUBEMIE

"Ashwaubenon (township in Brown County) contains the tract of land deeded by the famous Menominee Chief, Ashwaubemie, to his descendants."

Martis, 1913, p. 325

"The site of the grave of Ashwaubemie in the city of Green Bay is marked."

Brown, 1927, p. 24

AUPAUMUT

"Grave of Captain Hendrick Aupaumut, an Indian hero of the American Revolution, near the Brill farm at Kaukauna. Marked with tablet."

Brown, 1927, p. 28

"Several men of the Stockbridge tribe were outstanding characters. Some of the Stockbridges of the earlier period had been soldiers in the Revolutionary War. Aupaumut, better known as Captain Hendrick, served in the American army during the War for Independence, and was said to have been given a captain's commission by General George Washington. He was also a soldier under William Henry Harrison and took part in the campaign against Tecumseh. He died while his

people were located on the lower Fox River, and his remains were interred at Kaukauna."

Titus, 1947, pp. 427-428

BIG BEAR

"When Big Bear, a chief of the Winnebago, died near the center of the northeast quarter of Section 19, town of Excelsior, Sauk County, he was buried on the spot and the family moved to a new location. His death occurred in the fall of 1904, at the age of fifty years. A covering made of boards was placed over the burial place by the Indians, the usual custom, and by 1922 the covering was badly decayed In June of the last-named year the owner of the farm, H. A. Bryant, erected a new enclosure of poles and posts, the bark first being removed. The spot is now plainly marked, the location being less than a quarter of a mile from the Baraboo River. At one time the grave was desecrated by relic hunters in search for trinkets supposed to have been buried with him." Cole, 1922, p. 97

BIG FOOT'S SQUAW

"On Memorial Day, 1929, the Wisconsin Archeological Society dedicated a boulder-and-tablet marker on the site of the grave of one of the wives of Chief Big Foot, the site of the grave being on one of the residence streets of the village of Williams Bay."

Jenkins, 1932, p. 49

BIG JOHN

"Location: Western end of White River pond, the head of the White River, about 5 miles west of Wautoma, southwest of the lake. This is on the N. E. ¼ of the S. W. ¼ of Section 25, Deerfield Township, Waushara County. On the western end of the pond, southwest of the lake, is the grave of Big John, local Indian chief of some distinction. Other Indians were buried here."

Fox and Tagatz, 1916, p. 134

BLUE WING or AH-HO-CHO-KA

"Of all the Indians in the western part of Sauk County when the white settlers came, Ah-ho-cho-ka was the most prominent character, says Dr. F. D. Hulburt, of Reedsburg.

He was a chief of a band of Winnebago and until his death at a very advanced age, he held the confidence and devotion of his tribe.

"His camp was in the southwestern part of the town of Reedsburg and here he remained until about 1861, when he sold the land and took up his abode on the south bank of the Baraboo River west of Reedsburg.

"The name Ah-ho-cho-ka translated into English is 'Blue Wing,' and this signature he used when signing legal documents. He died from cancer in November, 1893, at Tomah, and is buried there. He was aged about 100 years."

Cole, 1922, p. 100

CE-KU-TAY or CE-CU-TAI

Location: Rowley's Bay, Door County

"At Gill's Rock, Wah-ya-gui-kah-nick-cock, also written Wah-ye-gue-kah-me-kong, meaning 'head of the land, or land's end,' at the northernmost limit of the mainland, was situated a Potawatomie village. Chief Ce-ku-tay, also written Ce-cu-tai, was buried there. The old village of Chief Ce-ku-tay was located at Rowley's Bay, the Potawatomi name for the bay being Wash-be-gah-tong, or 'hole harbor.'"

Lawson, 1920, p. 51

CHE-CHAU-KONS

Che-chau-kons was a leading war chief of the Potawatomie. He died and was burie at the village of Skunk Hill, near the town of Arpin, in Wood County."

Lawson, 1920, p. 56

CHOU-GA-RAH or THE LADLE

"When I spent my first winter at the Wisconsin Portage, in 1801-02, the DeKau-rys (Decorahs) were among the most important of the Winnebago. Chou-ga-rah, or The Ladle, was then the Head Chief. He was at this time an old man, and died at the Portage about 1808, and, by his request, was placed in a sitting posture in a coffin, and the coffin placed on the surface of the ground, with a small cabin erected over it, and that surrounded with a fence."

Grignon, 1857, p. 286

DEKORRA, DAYKAURAY, SCHA-CHIP-KA-KA
or WHITE WAR EAGLE

"The old chief Dekorra died April 20, 1836, in his ninetieth year, at what is known locally as Caffrey's Place, at the foot of the bluff in Caledonia, and was buried in Portage just in the rear of the old log Catholic church, nearly opposite J. E. Wells' residence, according to John T. de la Ronde; but Moses Paquette, in the Wisconsin Historical Collections (vol. xiii) states that his death occurred at the Pete-en-Well on the Wisconsin River. When the order was made to remove the bodies of all persons buried there, Dekaury's remains were bundled into some boxes promiscuously with others, and they now rest in the Catholic cemetery."

Turner, 1898, pp. 87-88

"Dekorra was the eldest son of Chou-ga-rah, or The Ladle, whom he succeeded as head of the Winnebago after the latter's death in 1808."

Grignon, 1857, p. 286

FOUR LEGS, HOOTSCHOPE, NEOKOTAH
or NE-O-KAU-TAH

"The funeral of the great chief of the Winnebago nation, 'Four Legs' (Hootschope), whose village was on Doty's Island at the foot of Lake Winnebago . . . had been celebrated with unusual pomp the day before our arrival. His body, wrapped in a blanket and placed in a rude coffin along with his guns, tomahawk, pipes, and a quantity of tobacco, had been carried to the most elevated point of the hill opposite the fort (Fort Winnebago), followed by an immense procession of his people.

"After the interment of his body, a stake was planted at his head, on which was painted in vermilion a series of hieroglyphics descriptive of the great deeds and events of his life. The whole was then surrounded with pickets of the trunks of tamarack trees."

Kinzie, 1930, p. 60

"We might imagine that the bones of the great Four Legs repose there still, a little in the rear of the (Indian) Agency building; but they probably do not, for the graves of the In-

dians were usually very shallow, and the tiller of the soil would often turn their bones to the surface to be whitened by the sun; and it became in after years quite fashionable for white men to desecrate the Indian graves in pursuit of relics. Frequently no other covering than a roof of slabs, in the form of an inverted V was given to them.

"Neokotah was the celebrated Winnebago chief Four Legs. He served under the British in the war of 1812 at Fort Meigs, Sandusky, and Prairie du Chien. He died in 1830."

Turner, 1898, pp. 84-86

HIGH KNOCKER

"High Knocker, son of Chief Big Soldier, was well known to the early white settlers of Green Lake. After his father he was chief of all the local Winnebago. He was buried, according to Mr. S. D. Mitchell (Biographical Album of Green Lake, p. 201) in a small Indian cemetery between Princeton and Berlin, on the F. Arndt place, between the old Fox River channel and the road, in the S. W. ¼ of the N. W. ¼ of Section 34, St. Marie township, Green Lake County."

Brown, 1917, pp. 19-20

IOMETAH, AYAMAHTAH, or FISH SPAWN

"Hon. M. M. Davis' statement.—'The old Menominee chief Iometah, died in the spring of 1865. Among the Menominees, Iometah was noted as the great beaver hunter.'"

"Capt. Wm. Powell's statement.—'Iometah was a chief of the Little Kaukalin and Little Chute band of Menominees, where he lived. At the treaty made at Washington, in 1831, he was the principal chief, and had the authority of the whole tribe.

'Ayamatah, or Fish Spawn, always so signed his name to treaties, but which for euphony became toned down to Iometah. At the treaty at Green Bay, in 1832, and at Cedar Point, in 1836, he again signed his name Ayamatah, or Fish Spawn. He was born at Menomonee River, below Green Bay, about the year 1767, and when he died at Keshena he must have been at least ninety years old. Iometah was in the War of 1812, figuring at Prairie du Chien at the time the Americans sur-

rendered the fort to the British forces. He was also in the Black Hawk War.

'Iometah was a brother of the chief Tomah. His death took place in 1865, and he was buried at Keshena.' "

Thwaites, 1909, pp. 497-499

IRON WALKER

Location of Grave: West end of Big Mosquito Hill, S. E. ¼ or Section 8, Liberty township, Outagamie County.

Description: "Mr. Charles F. Carr states that a prominent Indian, Iron Walker, was 'buried on the west end of the highest portion of Mosquito Hill. His grave was opened about 30 years ago (1881) and some fine copper implements secured. These are thought to have been presented to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.' (Some Indian Chiefs Who Reigned Over New London, 1911)."

Present Condition: The portion of the hill where Iron Walker was buried is now entirely gone, having been blasted away for the quarrying of stone. Big Mosquito Hill rose sharply 200 feet above the Wolf River.

Fox, 1916, p. 15

KAH-QUA-DOS or SIMON ONANGUISSE KAHQUADOS

"In Peninsula State Park, between Fish Creek and Ephraim, in Door County, near the totem pole, a nine-ton boulder marks the grave of Chief Simon Onanguisse Kahquados (1851-1930), last hereditary chief of the Wisconsin Potawatomie and lineal descendant of Chief Onanguisse, who rescued Tonty's starving band in 1680. When the totem pole was dedicated in 1927, Chief Kahquados attended in full ceremonial dress, and accepted it on behalf of all Wisconsin Indians as a memorial to their culture. Four years later he was buried near its foot amid ceremonies even more impressive.

"Brought up in the forest of northern Door County, Simon Kahquados was handicapped by poverty and lack of education, but he studied the history and genealogy of his tribe, recording for the first time the meanings and derivations of many Indian names and phrases. Eager to better the conditions of his people, he journeyed many times to Washington to consult the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Kahquados died November 27, 1930, shortly before his eightieth birthday, and

was buried six months later on Memorial Day, 1931. Both Indians and whites did him honor at his elaborate funeral."

Wisconsin, 1941, pp. 315-316; 464

KE-CHE-WAISH-KE or THE BUFFALO

"Obituary of Ke-che-waish-ke. He was the head, and the most able and distinguished chief of the Chippewa Indians, noted for his rare integrity, wisdom in council, his power as an orator, and for his magnanimity as a warrior. Buffalo was an heriditary chief. That voice,—so potent at the treaty of 1842, (our Government with the Chippewa bands), is silent forever. His remains were borne, on the 7th day of September, from his house at Middle Fort, one mile below, with military honors, a large concourse of Indians following the procession. Funeral dirges for Ke-che-waish-ke were sung at the Cathedral of La Pointe, and within the cemetery of that church repose the earthly remains of the most illustrious chief of the Chippewas."

More, 1857, pp. 365-366.

"The Red Cliff Indian Reservation encircles the rounded tip of the Bayfield Peninsula. Here live the descendants of a group of La Pointe Chippewa Indians, who, given land by the treaty of 1854, settled here under the leadership of Chief Buffalo."

Wisconsin, 1941, p. 452

"Here, in the graveyard near the Old Mission, (at La Pointe) is buried 'Buffalo,' principal chief of the Chippewa of Lake Superior, who died September 7, 1880, age 96 years,' as shown by the portion of the tombstone left by relic hunters. Tourists have an insatiable thirst for relics—as the grave of Chief Buffalo shows."

Burnham, 1930, p. 72

KEWASKUM or GEE-WAY-SKUM

"The city of Kewaskum was named for the Potawatomie chief of that name, who died there and was buried in the cemetery south of the city."

Lawson, 1920, p. 57

"Washington County, Kewaskum Township. Cemetery

south of the city of Kewaskum. Chief Kewaskum buried there. Reported by J. O. Nigh."

Brown, 1912, p. 184

"Old Kewaskum died near Mud Lake, in the town of Shields, Dodge County, about the year 1857, and was buried on Indian (now Barber's) Island, on Rock River, about four miles north of Hustisford. His body was dug up by a doctor and some others in the summer of 1878, and his beads, ornaments and other relics worn by him at burial are now in the hands of a party in Hartford."

LeCount, 1891, pp. 245, 253

KICKAPOO

"Kickapoo, a Potawatomie chief, is buried in North Side Park in the city of Kewaskum, in the Indian Cemetery."

Lawson, 1920, p. 58

"Washington County, Kewaskum Township.—Indian Cemetery in North Side Park at Kewaskum. Chief Kickapoo buried there."

Brown, 1912, p. 184

LEATHERSTRAP or WAUK-TSHA

"Chief Leatherstrap and his wife were buried in the grounds of what is now Cutler's Park in the city of Waukesha, Waukesha county."

Lawson, 1920, p. 65

"A somewhat noted Potawatomie chief, Leatherstrap, with a large number of his people, were found by the white settlers living near the site of the village of Waukesha, where he afterwards died, and was buried with his two wives on the handsome grounds now owned by Morris D. Cutler (present Cutler Park)."

Snyder & Van Vechten, 1878, p. 245

"The local leader, not chief, according to M. D. Cutler, was 'Wau-tsha' or 'Wauk-tsha.' He was tall and athletic, proud of his bearing, dignified and friendly. His clothing and ornaments were richly decorated skins, strings of beads and shells, and tufts of feathers. 'Wagosh' is the Potawatomie

name for fox. Wauk-tsha and Leatherstrap were probably two names for the same person.

Brown, 1923, pp. 70-71

MARINUKA

"On County Trunk T, near Galesville, in Trempealeau County, is the grave of Princess Marinuka, with a teepee of concrete beside it. Marinuka was the daughter of Chief Winneshiek, and the granddaughter of the famous Winnebago Chief Decorah, and a descendant of Queen Glory of the Morning. When she died in 1884, at the age of 82, the last of a celebrated family, she was buried with pagan rites at midnight, her head pointed to the north." (Lake Marinuka is named for her.)

Wisconsin 1941, p. 419

MAU-CHE-SEE-PEE or MACH-E-SE-BE

"There was an old Indian cemetery at the extreme end of the old Point (Walker's Point, on the south side of Milwaukee). Mau-che-see-pee was a son of Akeeneebaway (Standing Earth) and a younger brother of O-nau-tis-sah or O-nauge-sa, a full-blooded Menominee chief at Milwaukee.

"Mau-che-see-pee and his brother, Sau-we-yo (Yellow Body), were not regular chiefs but were the two leading council men of the then existing tribes under Chief O-nau-tis-sah. They were called by the Indians the Iron Men—Me-sau-pic (iron) E-ne-nees (men). They were valiant and strong in their will, and for doing what was for the best interest of the nation. Hence they were held in high esteem by all surrounding tribes for their valor. Mau-che-see-pee died in 1833, and buried at the old Indian burying ground at the Point."

Buck, 1890, pp. 87-88

METOXEN

"John Metoxen, a chief of the Stockbridges, was the Nestor of the tribe. He was born in 1770, and had the unique distinction of having resided in the Massachusetts Stockbridge, the New York Stockbridge, and the Wisconsin Stockbridge. Metoxen received a good education for his time. The Stockbridges soon recognized his ability, and he attained much influence in the councils of the tribe. Metoxen with Austin E. Quinney led the Stockbridge band from New York to White

River, Indiana. They migrated from there to Wisconsin. Metoxen was not only a chief of the Stockbridges, but, he also looked after the spiritual welfare of his people. After a long and creditable career, he died at Stockbridge, Wisconsin, April 8, 1858, and was buried in the old Indian cemetery at that place."

Titus, 1947, p. 428

MEXICO, WAUMEGESAKO, or THE WAUPUM

"Old Mexico, also known as Waumegesako and Wampum, was the head chief of the Potawatomi Indians. Wampum's headquarters were on the Manitowoc River. The old chief died in 1844. The citizens of Manitowoc erected a monument at the old village of Manitowoc Rapids in honor of Wampun. Here he was buried."

Johnstone, 1928, p. 27

"The Potawatomi village of Old Katoose was in Section 8, town of Kossuth, where it had been located for two hundred years or more. The Potawatomi name of this village was Kah-kah-be-gah-sing, meaning 'small falls.' It was a large village. It was here that chief Wampum died in the winter, and the members of the band drew him on a hand sled to Manitowoc Rapids where he was buried."

Lawson, 1920, p. 55

"Two miles up the Manitowoc River is the village of Manitowoc Rapids. Here was located one of the best known Indian villages on the western shore of Lake Michigan, consisting of Chippewa, with an admixture of Ottawa and Potawatomi. In 1835 the natives were presided over by Old Chief Wampum, also known as Mexico, or Wau-me-ge-sa-ko. His leadership was acknowledged by the mixed Indian villages as far away as the Sheboygan river and western Calumet County.

"Chief Mexico was born in 1789, and died in 1844. He took a prominent part in and signed the treaties of Butte des Morts, in 1827; of Green Bay, in 1828; of Prairie du Chien, in 1829; and of Chicago, in 1833. At this latter place his prominence is attested to by the fact that 'Mah-mix-i-co' was the fifth to sign in a list of seventy-six chiefs. In 1828, a deputation of fifteen Indians and one squaw traveled to Washington to conclude and sign the articles of agreement of the Treaty of

Green Bay. 'Way-meek-see-go, or Wampum' was one of them.

"Mexico's grave. This is located on Mr. Fred Winke's land (S. W. ¼ of the S. E. ¼ of Section 23, Manitowoc Rapids Township), on the highest crest on the north bank of the river, several hundred yards west of the Braunel cemetery. It is a quarter of a mile southwest of the location of the monument erected to his memory. The grave, and other purported to be his, have on various occasions been disturbed. In 1851, three citizens of Manitowoc removed therefrom the skull and thighbones. On this becoming known the indignation of the Indians was great, and dire threats were made producing consternation among the whites. Quiet was restored when the contents of the grave were returned.

"Mexico's Monument. On a high bluff situated at the Junction of Washington and King streets, in Manitowoc Rapids, offering a magnificent view of the picturesque region below, is another cemetery. Although not the last resting place of Wampum, because of its central situation near a much frequented highway, and because of its scenic advantages the monument to his memory, dedicated by the Manitowoc County Historical Society was placed there on August 8, 1912."

Falge, 1915, pp. 133-137

The following interesting account of an Indian burying ground in the Manitowoc region of Chief Mexico was given by Mr. M. Hale Smith in a letter published in the Manitowoc Pilot, on April 7, 1904. Mr. Hale, whose father settled there in 1855, wrote as follows:

"The Indian burying ground was a natural knoll some distance from the Neshoto River. The graves were in rows, side by side, with cedar bark like a roof over each. A round stake, about three feet high, stood at the head of each grave. On the stake certain marks were painted in red. The last one to be buried here was a young Indian. Split cedar stakes were used for a covering over his grave. A fence of rails was placed around it with the usual red painted stake at one end. Beneath the cedar covering a package of tobacco was placed. On one occasion I saw a small baby (papoose) buried, its coffin being formed of two strips of bark."

MONCHES

"Waukesha County, Lisbon Township. Indian cemetery on knoll one half mile east of Monches. Chief Monches, a Mascouten or Prairie Potawatomi, buried there."

LeCount, 1891, p. 245

Legend round the sleepy little village of Monches, (named for the chief), has it that Chief Monches left the reservation in Iowa in his last days, followed the old Indian trail through North Lake, back to Monches, so that he might die in the land of his people. (H. W. K.)

NAS-KE-WOIN or JOHN BUCKWHEAT

"Waukesha county, Muskego township, Little Muskego Lake, Muskego Creek Village. This village site was located at the foot of Little Muskego Lake, on both sides of Muskego Creek, lying about one and one-half miles to the south of it. The pioneer, Peter J. Vieau, informed the writer that when he came to this region this site was occupied by a Potawatomi village of several hundred persons. Nas-ke-woin was the chief of this village. He was known as John Buckwheat to the whites. On the edge of the forest there were once a number of Indian graves. Nas-ke-woin died and was buried there.

"Alanson Skinner furnished the following data concerning this chief: 'Nas-ke-woin, Nashki'wun, or Squealing-on-the-way (to feed its young', a name of the Bald Eagle gens."

Brown, 1923, pp. 98-99

OSHKOSH

"The statue of Chief Oshkosh in the northeast section of Menominee Park, overlooking Lake Winnebago in the city of Oshkosh, honors the man who gave his name to the city, and marks his grave. His bones were buried here after removal from a grave at Keshena in 1827. The city observed the occasion with a large parade. Born in 1795, Chief Oshkosh, who earned his reputation as a brave warrior under Tomah and Tecumseh, was a grandson of Che-chau-cho-ka-ma, the Old King."

Wisconsin, 1941, p. 272

OSHKOSH, Neopit

"Across the Wolf River from Keshena is the Oshkosh Clan Burial Plot, a 60-foot square tract enclosed by a barbed

wire fence. Most of the graves are covered with the customary Indian gravehouses. Members of the Oshkosh Clan who resisted conversion to Christianity are buried here. . . . Three other graves are marked by smaller, simpler stones, one of which bears the inscription 'Neopit Oshkosh.' "

Wisconsin, 1941, p. 347

O-SHO-GA

"Chief O-Sho-ga, of the Chippewas, died of the smallpox in 1854 at La Pointe. The (Indian) Agent had a suitable tombstone erected at his grave. O-sho-ga was a young chief, or rare promise and merit; he also stood high in the affections of his people."

Morse, 1857, p. 348

QUINNEY, Austin E.

(Grave in Indian cemetery at Stockbridge).

"Austin E. Quinney was one of the leading men of a band of Stockbridge who came from New York to White River, in Indiana, and having discovered that lands anticipated at White River had been sold, then removed northwest and joined their brethren at Green Bay."

Konkapot. 1859, pp. 303-304

QUINNEY, John W.

(Grave in Indian cemetery at Stockbridge)

"Of all the head men of the Stockbridges, John W. Quinney (Waun-nau-con) was probably best known in Wisconsin. Always a leader, he was for a term beginning in 1852 the elected Grand Sachem of his people. It was he who represented the Wisconsin Stockbridges in the many pleas before the Congress of the United States. In the furtherance of this work Quinney is said to have visited Washington nine times during a period when transportation facilities were limited and when the journey was beset by many difficulties. John W. Quinney was born in New York in 1797. Unlike Metoxen, he did not reach old age, but died at Stockbridge, Wisconsin, July 21, 1855.

"Quinney's grandfather was Nau-nau-neek-nuk, who had the reputation of being one of the brave Stockbridge warriors of the American Revolution."

Titus, 1947, p. 429

SKENANDORE, Nancy

"Tablet to Nancy Skenandore, first Indian trained nurse in America, in Oneida Indian cemetery at Oneida Indian Episcopal Church, at Depere."

Brown, 1927, p. 17

SOMAN JIM

"Soman Jim, (the first name means 'Grape' or 'Raisin'), was perhaps the handsomest Algonkian Indian I ever met, and was certainly ranked high among the Menomini. He was tall and lean, his hair, cropped at the shoulders in the style common among the older men of the tribe, was gray. His features were sharp and his eye piercing. He daily wore Indian dress, deerskin leggings, and moccasins, otter fur turban, with a bright green blanket girt about his loins, and in his hand a ball-headed warclub.

"Soman Jim did not belong to either the Dreamers Society or to the Medicine Lodge. He was, however, a particularly distinguished prophet. He belonged to the cult called **Wabano**, or those who derive their powers from the Morning Star. The old man and his wife lived in a bark house deep in the heavy forest, some four miles from Zoar settlement.

"One winter he caught a cold, which quickly developed into pneumonia, and died. As he was not a Christian he could not be buried in the Catholic cemetery, and as he did not belong to either the Dreamers or the Mitawin, the members of these societies, who perform the ceremonies for their own dead, had no interest in his funeral. He was therefore buried in one corner of a plowed field across the fence from the Catholic cemetery at Niopet. No tombstone or pagan grave-house marks his sepulchre. When I passed it in 1919, and again in 1920, only an empty beer bottle, thrust neck down at the head of the grave, indicated the spot. Thus sadly perished an interesting old Indian, said to have been one of the few surviving pure blooded Menomini. His grave will soon be forgotten entirely."

Skinner, 1921, pp. 72, 74

WASHINGTON WOMAN

"White Crow's daughter is reported to have been an Indian girl of great beauty. She became the wife of the Winnebago

chief, Yellow Thunder, and is known in history as 'the Washington Woman.' "

Brown, 1911, pp. 131, 132

"In 1828, Yellow Thunder and his squaw were members of a party which went to Washington to interview the President. The squaw was thereafter known as 'the Washington Woman.'

"On a sandy knoll on the forty (S. E. ¼, S. W. ¼. Sec. 36) is the grave of Yellow Thunder. A few paces distant is the grave of his squaw. Mr. Isaac Flynn and Mr. Wm. Calvert dug the grave in which the squaw was buried. Mr. Calvert states that she was buried in a sitting position, facing the setting sun. The body was wrapped in blankets, and the head came almost to the surface of the ground. A few short logs and rails were placed over the opening.

"These graves have not been plowed over or desecrated, and an effort will be made by the Sauk County Historical Society in some manner to mark and preserve them."

Stout, 1906, pp. 239-240

"Among the other callers (at the Indian Agency House, at Portage) was the esteemed Mme. Yellow Thunder, who had been to Washington with Mr. Thunder, and was known by the other Indians as the 'Washington Woman.' "

Turner, 1898, p. 88

WAUBEKA

"The best known (of the Ozaukee County Potawatomi chiefs) was Waubeka, from whom the town of Waubeka takes its name. A small camp of Potawatomi was located on the highlands (Yankee Hill) on the south side of the river near the present stone mill. Here, on the John B. Kendall place, was the Indian grave-yard. Here, beneath a lilac bush, Waubeka is said to have been buried. In later years numbers of Indians frequently returned for the purpose of visiting the grave."

Lawson, 1920, p. 57

WAUBENUKQUA or MORNING STAR

"The site of the grave of Waubenukqua in the city of Green Bay is marked."

Brown, 1927, p. 24

"This (Ashwaubenon Township in Brown County) is the

territory where Waubenukqua, the beautiful 'Morning Star,' was brought, according to legend, when Ashwaubemie carried her away from her hostile people to make her his wife."

Martin, 1913, p. 325

WAUPACA

There is a boulder marker at the grave of Chief Waupaca in the Potawatomi cemetery five miles south of the village of Marion. Named for Chief Waupaca is the city of Waupaca; also Waupaca County, Township, River and Falls.

Brown, 1927, p. 39

"Waupaca—from **wapuka**, Potawatomi for 'looking on,' a famous Bald Eagle clan personal name."

Skinner, 1926, p. 399

WAU-PAU-O-MA-TAM-OE

"Across the Wolf River, near Keshena, is the Oskosh clan burial plot, a 60-foot square tract. Most of the graves are covered with the customary Indian gravehouses. Pagan members of the Oskosh clan are buried here, among them Wau-pau-o-ma-tam-oe, wife of Neopit Oshkosh.

"Above the inscription on her gravestone is an engraved representation of a tepee village with a woman grinding corn in front of a fire, over which hangs a kettle. On top of the stone has been carved a mythical animal with the head of an otter, the body of a rabbit, the legs of a dog or wolf, and the tail of a fox. (Neopit Oshkosh lies buried near by)."

Wisconsin,1941, p. 347

WE-KAU, WAN-NI-GA, or THE SUN

"We-Kau, known and abhorred as one of the most bloody-minded of his race, took part in the Red Bird incident. Besides Wan-nig-sootsh-kau, or the Red Bird, and We-Kau, there were three other Indians imprisoned. Red Bird died in prison. We-kau, or Wa-ni-ga, or The Sun, and Chick-hon-sic, or The Buffalo Calf, were tried and convicted, and by Judge Doty sentenced to be hung. Pres. Adams having sent on a pardon, We-kau was saved.

"We-kau, or The Sun, died at Prairie du Chien in 1836 of the smallpox; and was buried three miles above Galesville, on the high bank on the west side of Beaver Creek."

McKenney, 1867, p. 202

WE-SO

"Across the Wolf River, near Keshena, is the burial plot of the pagan members of the Oshkosh clan; a stone marks the grave of Kin-eah-kiew We-so, (Indian for 'daughter of a chief'). The We-so stone has a deer carved on it."

Wisconsin, 1941, p. 347

WHITE BREAST or MAUNK-SHAK-KAH

"The Winnebago village and cemetery of Chief White Breast, Mauk-shak-kak, was located at Horicon, a short distance north of where the C. M. & S. P. Ry., (now the Milwaukee Road), spans the river."

Brown, 1906, p. 317

WHITE CROW or KAW-RAY-KAW-SAW-KAW

"White Crow was a prominent chief and orator of his tribe (the Winnebago), and an early friend of the whites. He was a signer of the treaties of Butte des Morts, in 1827; Green Bay, in 1828, and Rock Island, in 1832. We was one of the party of Winnebagoes who accompanied Major Forsyth and Indian Agent John H. Kinzie to Washington, in 1828. During the Black Hawk War in 1832, he served as a guide to Col. Henry Dodge's command of Wisconsin militia.

"White Crow was a friend to the whites in a day when the Winnebago held the key to a more or less desperate situation. There were in this year yearly 5,000 Winnebagoes in Wisconsin, and an uprising of their chiefs in favor of Black Hawk might have led to the extermination of the handful of white settlers in the state.

"White Crow died in 1834, and was buried where the village of Cross Plains, near Madison, Dane County, is now located. His grave is on the Peter Rodenschmidt farm."

Brown, 1911, p. 131

"The last known chief of a Winnebago village located at Carcajou Point, on the northwest shore of Lake Koshkonong, was the noted White Crow, of the Black Hawk War period. To the memory of White Crow, or Kaw-ray-kaw-saw-kaw, Mr. Halvor Skavlem erected a boulder marker on the site of his village."

Brown, 1939, p. 48

"The place of interment of that celebrated chief (White

Crow) is at a point near the foot of a bluff, twenty-five feet or more west from the line of the old military road (between Wisconsin River and Fort Winnebago), and about 150 yards southward from a spring near the easterly side of said road, the waters from which flow northward and join a larger stream which finds its way through Black Earth Valley to Wisconsin River at Arena. That this was the grave of that chief (White Crow), I was at that time informed by Chief Whirling Thunder, or Waunkesha, himself. The grave may probably still be found, unless obliterated by vandal hands in the improvement of the village of Cross Plains, in or near which it is located, where, should the project be deemed of sufficient consequence, the citizens of that village could erect a monument, commemorative of the good or evil deeds of the once renowned White Crow."

Thwaites, 1909, pp. 496-497

WHITE EAGLE

In the O. S. Military Cemetery at Fort Winnebago, at Portage, near the old Indian Agency House—(home of Juliette Kinzie, author of Waubun")—lies buried Archie White Eagle, who was a private in the 128th Infantry, of the 32nd Division, and has the distinction of being the only World War I veteran in that cemetery. At least I was so informed by the custodian.—H. W. K.

WHITE FEATHER, WAU-MEK-WUN, or WAUMEQUON

"There is much of human interest in the burial of White Feather. This well known Winnebago Indian was spending the winter in a camp on the south bank of the Wisconsin River in the town of Caledonia, Columbia County, where he was taken ill and passed away in the gray shadows in the spring, about 1900.

"The remains were enshrouded in a new blanket and before being removed from the tent a separate opening from the one he entered last was made. A stick, colored much like the Winnebago baskets, was placed at the head of the dead Indian, and each member of the tribe marched by, stepping near but not on the stick. They left the wigwam through the usual opening.

The body was then placed upon a sled and hauled to the

burial site on a sandy knoll located a few rods west of the highway, not far south of the Indian camp. The remains were lowered into the grave, after which an Indian offered a prayer in the native tongue. The remaining Indians then placed a board across the opening, and all marched in single file by a rude fence made with field boulders. White Feather is interred in the western end of the enclosure—the plot not measuring more than a few paces on either side. No individual stones indicate where the graves may be.

"Since the burials were made the land has passed to other owners, and the place now has a vagabond appearance ,trees growing on the graves and brush roundabout. The average person passing along the highway is oblivious to the tombs in the wildwood, where grief once flowed and where strange rites were once observed."

Cole, 1926, pp. 29-30

WINNESHIEK, WIN-NO-SHEEK, MA-WA-RA-GA

"The grave of Chief Winneshiek is on Mt. Winneshiek, north of De Soto, in Trempealeau County. Named for him are Winneshiek Bluff, Winneshiek Bottoms, Winneshiek Landing, and Mt. Winneshiek."

Emerson, 1933, p. 108

"Win-no-sheek, the elder, was a good chief (of the Winnebagoes). Win-no-sheek was greatly beholden by his people, and reverenced by his children."

Grignon, 1857, p. 287

"The Elder Winneshiek, who presided over the Pecatonica village, was called by his people Ma-wa-ra-ga, meaning 'muddy.' Winne means dirty or brackish, as applied to water, and shiek means a growth. This name is frequently applied to the yellow birch trees, as the bark of this tree has a dirty or smoky color. As applied to Winneshiek, this name undoubtedly refers to the beard which was an hereditary characteristic of the male members of the Winneshiek family."

Jipson, 1923, pp. 132-133

YELLOW THUNDER, or AU-KAUN-ZEE-KAH

"Au-kaun-zee-kah, the Yellow Thunder, was a noted war chief of the Winnebagos. Yellow Thunder figured quite prominently in the early history of Wisconsin. In 1828, he

and his squaw were members of a party which went to Washington to interview the President.

"On a sandy knoll on the forty (S. E. ¼ of S. W. ¼ or Sec. 36) belongingto Mr. George Harrison, is the grave of this noted chief, who died in 1874. A few paces distant is also the grave of his squaw (who was known as the Washington Woman). These graves have not been plowed over or desecrated, and an effort will be made by the Sauk County Historical Society in some manner to mark and preserve them." (A painting of Yellow Thunder is in the state historical museum, at Madison).

Stout, 1906, pp. 239-240

"Yellow Thunder had a reputation not a whit less honorable than Dekorra's. His remains repose undisturbed on the west bank of the Wisconsin River, a few miles below Kilbourn (Wisconsin Dells), where he lived and died. He died at a great age in 1874."

Turner, 1898, p. 88

"In 1910, the Sauk County Historical Society erected a monument near Baraboo to the memory of Yellow Thunder, the Winnebago chief, five miles north of the city on County Trunk "A".

Brown, 1911, p. 132

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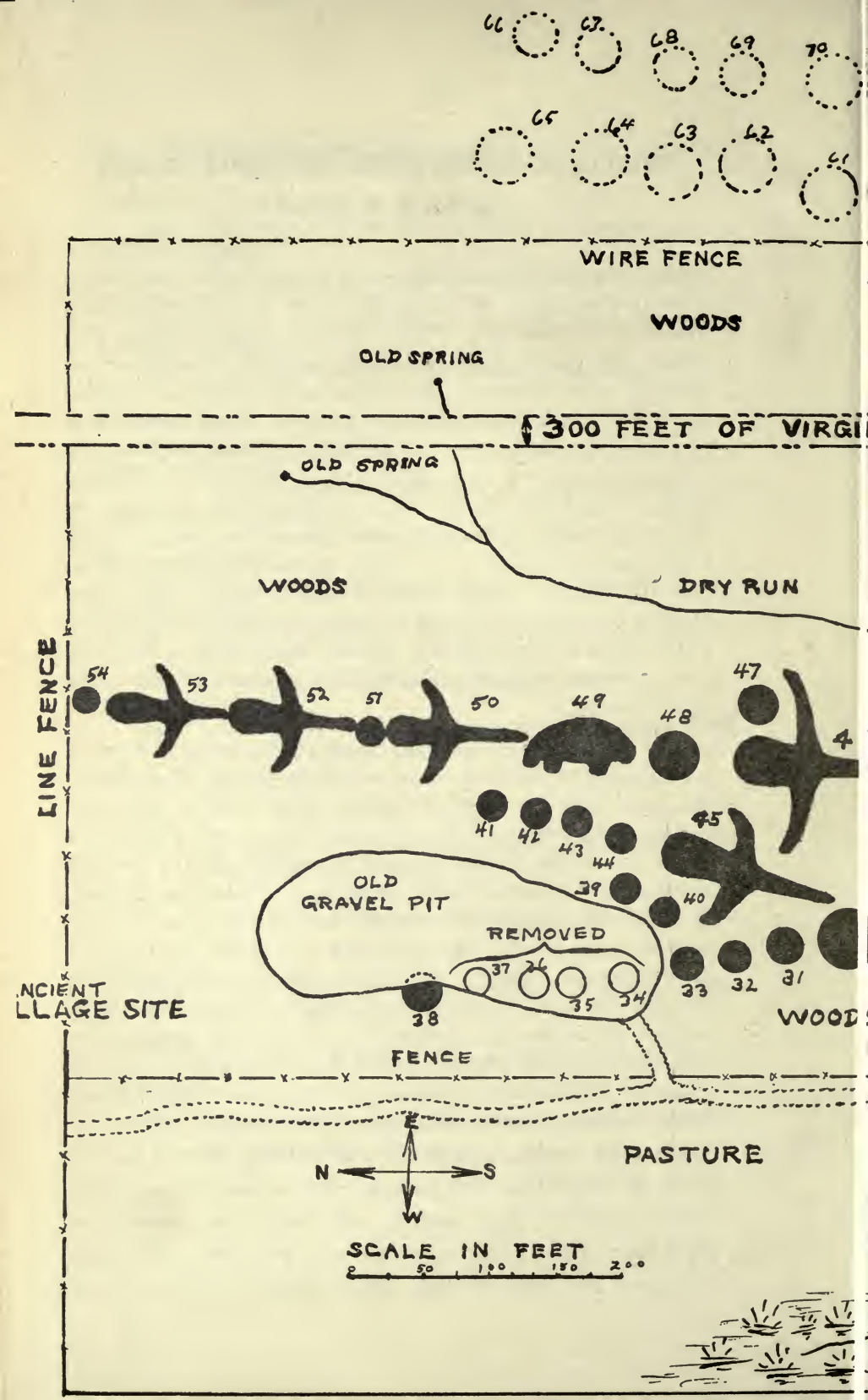
THE CLARK MOUND GROUP OF DODGE COUNTY

By Dr. E. G. Bruder

This large and interesting group of prehistoric earthworks is located on the N. W. ½ of the N. W. ¼ of Section 15, in Town of Williamstown, T 12 N—R 16 E, Dodge County, Wisconsin. The goose-type effigy predominates. Twenty conical mounds were destroyed by cultivation in 1948, in addition to sixteen which were obliterated in 1908. The latter were in two parallel rows to the last of those removed in 1948. No accurate record was ever made of these mounds. Of the 1948 group, Mound No. 72, showed a small opening in the S. E. corner, exposing a stone-slab vault about 3½ feet wide by 6 feet long, and about 3 feet high. It was never investigated, but according to Jerry Clark it took several extra heavy charges of dynamite to level the larger mounds in this group. Faint traces of these mounds remain,—but a careful search of the surface of this newly plowed field yielded nothing of unusual interest.

An ancient village site to the north of this group of mounds is evidenced by the large areas of broken pottery of the Woodland type, and the pieces of chipped flint. Most of the many springs in this formerly heavy-wooded farm have gone dry in recent years, due to the removal of timber and the gradual lowering of the water table. This farm adjoins the Horicon Marsh where the east branch of the Rock River enters as quiet waters. All kinds of waterfowl, fish, and game abounded in the immediate country. The marsh yielded large quantities of wild rice and cranberries, and helped sustain the large number of people that at some time in the past lived in this area. The majority of their prehistoric earthworks are still in a heavily wooded area, adjacent to three ancient village sites. Forty conical mounds have been destroyed by cultivation. Thirty-three conical mounds are still existent, as well as seven of the Goose-type bird mounds. One animal mound of the "otter" type is in the "parade" with four of the goose-types. Very many large sugar maple trees, about 100 to 150 years old, grow on these mounds. The southwest corner of this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WIRE FENCE
WOODS
OLD SPRING
300 FEET OF VIRGI
OLD SPRING
WOODS
DRY RUN
LINE FENCE
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OLD
GRAVEL PIT
REMOVED
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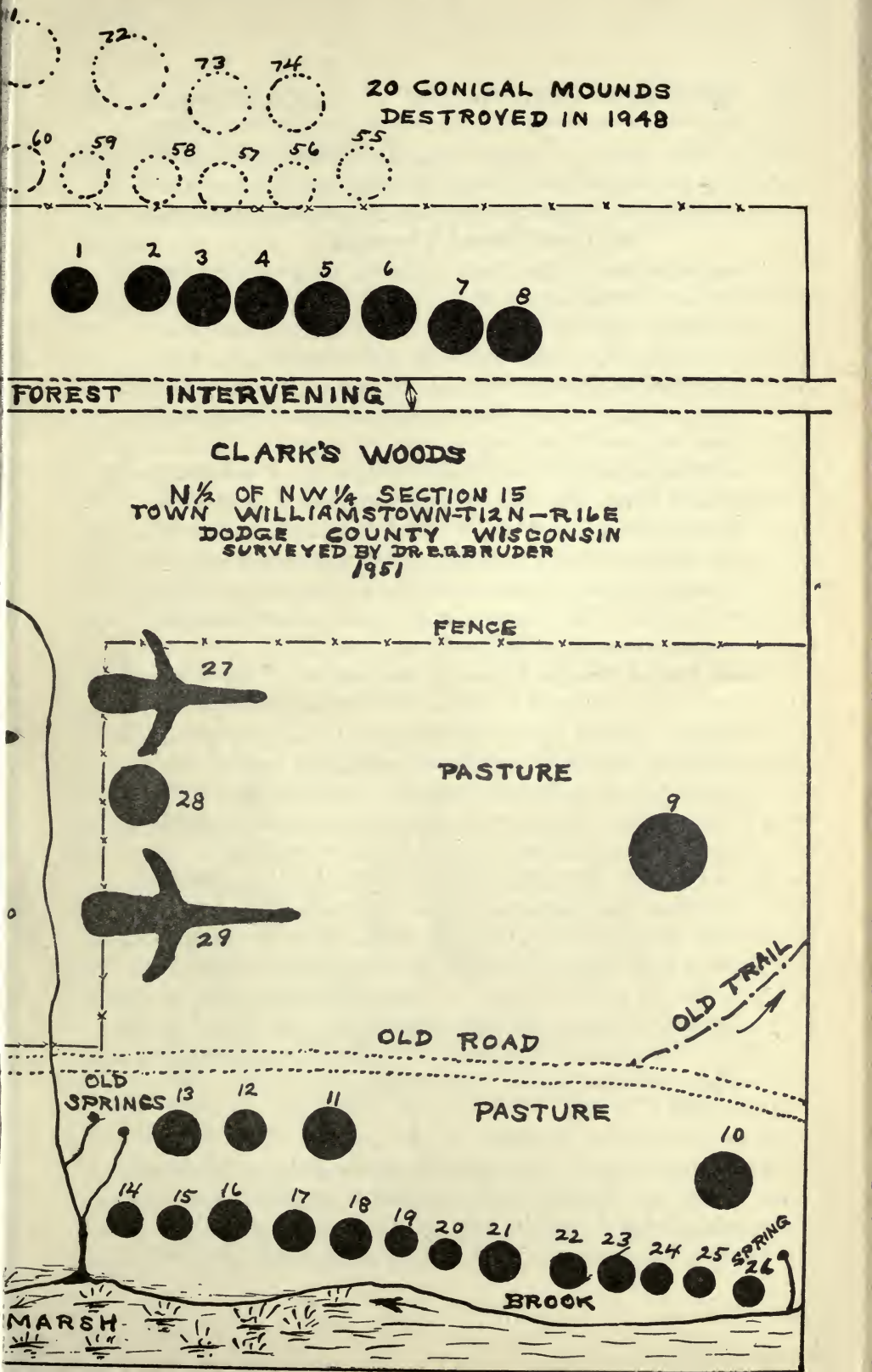
72
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20 CONICAL MOUNDS
DESTROYED IN 1948
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FOREST INTERVENING
CLARK'S WOODS
N½ OF NW¼ SECTION 15
TOWN WILLIAMSTOWN-T12N-R16E
DODGE COUNTY WISCONSIN
SURVEYED BY DR. E. A. BRUDER
1951
FENCE
27
28
29
PASTURE
9
OLD TRAIL
OLD ROAD
OLD SPRINGS
13
12
11
PASTURE
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25
SPRING
26
BROOK
MARSH

plot has been cleared of timber, but the dense toppings still remain, and made the surveying work slow and tedious. The countless mosquitoes made the task one of maximum patience.

Individual Mound Recording

Conical Mounds No. 1 to No. 8, inclusive, are located in native woods, on the high part of the hill. A line was run from the only known marker in the vicinity, on the extreme west centre of Section 15, to centre of N. W. ¼ of Section 15. From here we worked out the bearings of the various groups. The fences do not follow a true north and south line. Group Nos. 1 to 8 bear true north, and have an overall length of 314 feet. No. 1 is 33 feet in diameter and 3½ feet high; No. 2 and No. 3 are both 35 x 4 feet; No. 4 is 30 x 3½ feet; No. 5 is 34 x 3½ feet; No. 6 is 32 x 3 feet; No. 7 is 30 x 3 feet; and No. 8 is 33 x3½ feet. All are partly covered by brush, and do not appear to have been disturbed. Some of them show the partly caved in characteristics of the formerly adjoining destroyed mounds which contained the stone-slab vaults.

Conical Mound No. 9 is 57 feet in diameter and 5 feet high. It has never been disturbed, and adjoins the ancient trail to the southeast. Across the woodland road, to the west, on a slight elevation adjoining a flowing brook, are located conical mounds No. 10 to No. 26, inclusive. None of these were ever disturbed, and today are located in open pasture land. No. 10 is 38.5 feet in diameter by 3.5 feet in height; No. 11 is 22 by 3½ feet; No. 12 is 16 by 3 feet; No. 13 is 18x3½ feet; No. 14 is 16 x 2½ feet; No. 15 is 15 x 2½ feet; No. 16 is 24 x 3½ feet; No. 17 is 19 x 3 feet; No. 18 is 19 x 3 feet; No. 19 is 16 x 2½ feet; No. 20 is 16 x 2½ feet; No. 21 is 18 x 3 feet; No. 22 is 17 x 3 feet; No. 23 is 16 x 2 feet; Nos. 24 and 25 are 15 x 2 feet; and No. 26 is 18 x 3 feet. The true bearing of this group of conicals is N-3° W. Two old springs are located to the north, and one flowing spring to the south of this group.

In the extreme N. E. corner of this pasture is the goose effigy mound, No. 27. It bears due north, and is 103 feet long, and 76 feet between wing tips, and 4 feet high. A wire fence cuts off 4 feet from its tail, and the same fence making a corner to the south cuts off 6 feet from its left wing. It is

a beautifully proportioned mound.

No. 28 is a large conical mound 38 feet in diameter and 5½ feet high. A large stump, recently cut, shows age approximately 150 years.

No. 29 is another goose type, 119 feet long, 65 feet between wing tips, and 4½ feet at its highest part. A profile view of this mound reveals the truly artistic ability of its prehistoric creators. The bearing of this mound is true north.

Mound No. 30 is a large conical, 55 feet in diameter and 5½ feet high. It is the southermost of a group of nine conicals, bearing N.-6° W.

Nos. 31 and 32 are 25 x 3 feet; No. 33 is 24 x 3 feet; and Nos. 34, 35, 36, and 37 were destroyed in the removal of the gravel hill on which they were located. They were approximately 24 feet in diameter by 3 feet in height. Most of Mound 38 remains on the very edge of the pit. It is 22 feet in diameter by 3 feet in height.

Mounds 39 to 45, inclusive, are conicals in a parallel group, bearing N-7° E., converging on the mounds headed by No. 30 at the apex, to form a "V."

Mound No. 46 is of the goose-effigy type, and is the largest mound of its type in this area. It is 125 feet long, 5½ feet high, and measures 133 feet between wing tips. The neck and head measure 78 feet, thebody 47 feet, and the wings are 4 feet high. A 28-inch stump, which is on the body part, shows an approximate age of 150 years. The mound has been partly excavated in center between wings, but results are unknown to present owners. The hole is about 5 feet in diameter, and did not do serious damage to the mound, which is very beautifully made in all proportions.

Mound No. 47 is to the north of the left wing of No. 46, and is a conical 20 x 3 feet.

Mound No. 48 is a conical 18 x 3 feet, and has been opened by a pit in the centre.

Mound No. 49 is a beaver-like effigy mound, very carefully made—unusual, because it is the only other effigy type found here. The others are all the goose type. This 'beaver' mound is 70 feet long, 4 feet high, with legs 14 feet long, and a tail

10 feet long. It is in the "parade" of goose effigies and conicals, headed south, the line bearing N. 2°—15' E.

No. 50 is a goose-type effigy, immediately behind the "otter." It is 83 feet long, 60½ feet between wing tips, and 3½ feet high. The neck and head measure 36 feet, and the body 47 feet.

No. 51 is a small conical mound, 20 x 2 feet, to the north of the goose.

No. 52 is a goose-type, 88 feet long, 4 feet high, and 56 feet between wing tips.

No. 53 is another goose-type mound, 90 feet long, 84 feet wide between wing tips, and 4 feet high.

No. 54 is a small conical mound, 18 x 3 feet. Nos. 46 to 54, inclusive, are in almost perfect alignment.

SUMMARY

These 50 mounds remain today in this N. E. corner of the Clark farm. Twenty mounds were destroyed by cultivation in 1948 and 16 more were destroyed in 1908. The latter were not surveyed. The field to north of Clark's barns and on the eastern slope of the large hill to the west was used as a village site by the Potawatomi as late as the 1880s. When this field is plowed for the first time it undoubtedly will prove to be a prehistoric site. Many pieces of pottery and flint have been found in eroded places.

On the high hill to the west are the faint outlines of several large, bird-type mounds, and many conicals. They constitute a group of 14. One of these conical mounds was excavated in 1912, and found to contain three skeletons: one of a middle-aged man, one of a middle-aged woman, and one of a boy of about 14 years. The skeletons lay due north and south with heads to the north and were covered with large stones. No artifacts were found.

The known mounds on the Clark Farms total 104 of which 50 remain today. All of these remaining mounds are in excellent condition and truly representative of prehistoric Indian culture. No linear mounds are located on the Clark Farms, or on any of the immediately adjoining farms.

THE PRAWATSCHKE INDIAN MOUNDS OF DODGE COUNTY

By Dr. E. G. Bruder

This group consists of conical mounds, unusual in size for eastern Wisconsin. They are located on the S ½ of the N. E. ¼, of section 16, Town 12 north, range 16 East, Williamstawn, Dodge County, Wisconsin. No previous survey has ever been made of these large conical mounds. The first recorded entry of the white men into this township, was that of the U. S. Deputy Surveyor J. Brink and his crew, in the making of his External Survey, 10 Feb., 1836. This was followed by the Internal (Sections) Survey, which was started on the 8 July, 1836, and was completed on the 31 Dec., 1836,—by Deputy Surveyor A. G. Ellis, for the States of Ohio, Indiana, and the Territory of Michigan. Ellis used the larger of these mounds (No. 16) as his landmark,—its diameter at that time, measured 70 feet. His original field notes mentioned Indian cornfields, trails and villages,—all carefully noted on his own field maps. These historic documents are preserved in the fireproof vaults of the State Capitol, at Madison, Wisconsin. A careful search, thru the records of the State Historical Library, and its map and plat division, revealed no previous reference to this area.

This group of mounds is centrally lacated in the almost continuous group of villages and camp sites extending for more than two miles along the east bank of the Rock River. The many springs, along the high sandy bank made it an ideal site for their villages. White areas of bleached bones and shells in certain fields, reveal the ancient refuse heaps. Broken pieces of various kinds of pottery, flint chips, and artifacts can still be picked up on these prehistoric sites, grouped along the Rock River, where it leaves the higher land, to begin its slow and meandering course thru the Horicon Marsh.

Individual Mound Recording

The first group described are all located on the level land adjoining the river.

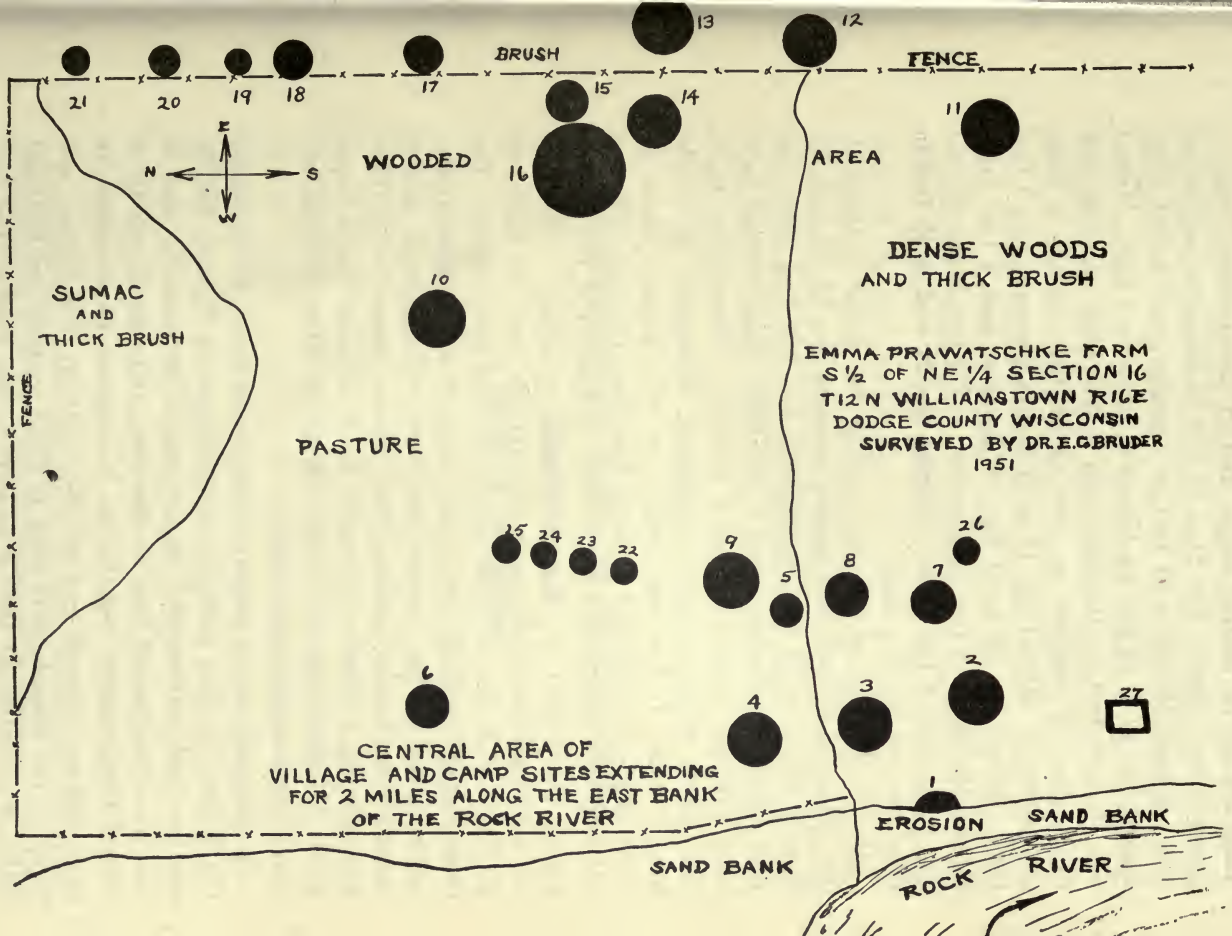
Conical mound No. 1—The Rock River cutting into the sand bank on which the mound is located, has been removed about one-third. No skeletal remains have been uncovered. Its original diameter was 35 feet, and its height, 3½ feet. About a 70 year old oak is growing on the east part, and its roots have slowed up the erosion process.

Conical Mounds Nos. 2, 3, and 4, are perfectly made. Their heights are 4 feet, and they are 40 feet in diameter, and in a line to the east of No. 1. Conical Mound No. 9 is 40 feet in diameter and 5 feet high. It was used as a surveying station to obtain bearings of the mounds in this part of the field. Conical mounds Nos. 5, 8, and 7, bear S 50 W. Mound No. 5 is 25 feet in diameter, and 3½ feet high. No. 8 is 35 feet in diemeter, and 5 feet high. No. 7 is 40 feet in diameter and 5 feet high. A small conical mound No. 26 is 9 feet in diameter and 2½ feet high and is slightly to the east and south of No. 7.

A group of four low conical mounds (Nos. 22, 23, 24, 25) 16 feet in diameter, and 1½ feet high, bear N 8° E, from the station on No. 9. Mound No. 6 with a diameter of 35 feet and height of 4 feet, bears N 22° W from No. 9. Two hundred feet away from No. 9 and bearing N 44° E, is conical mound No. 10 diameter 40 feet, and height 4½ feet. With the exception of Mounds Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, and 26, the remaining above described mounds have been under cultivation in years gone by, and their height has been cut down considerably. None of these mounds show any evidence of having been molested.

About 100 feet south of Mound No. 2, and about 25 feet from the edge of the river bank is a peculiar rectangular embankment. (Figure 27). The north wall is 22 feet in length and east 22 feet in length. The west wall is 21 feet in length. The south embankment is broken by a 3 foot opening near the west end, leaving the west segment of the wall 6 feet long, and the east segment 13 feet long. All these walls are 30 inches high. Five trees grow on the walls, varying from 8 inches to 15 inches in diameter. No excavations have been made to help identify its purpose.

The next group of mounds are on the high hill of the east part of this tract. Mounds Nos. 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21 are on the east side of the wire fence, and bear due north.


BRUSH
FENCE
21
20
19
18
17
13
12
15
14
11
E
N
S
W
WOODED
AREA
16
DENSE WOODS
AND THICK BRUSH
SUMAC
AND
THICK BRUSH
10
FENCE
EMMA PRAWATSCHKE FARM
S½ OF NE¼ SECTION 16
T12N WILLIAMSTOWN RIGE
DODGE COUNTY WISCONSIN
SURVEYED BY DR.E.G.BRUDER
1951
PASTURE
25
24
23
22
9
5
8
7
26
6
4
3
2
27
CENTRAL AREA OF
VILLAGE AND CAMP SITES EXTENDING
FOR 2 MILES ALONG THE EAST BANK
OF THE ROCK RIVER
1
EROSION
SAND BANK
SAND BANK
ROCK
RIVER

They are all of conical shape, and in an excellent stage of preservation. Mound No. 21 is 18 feet in diameter and 3 feet high. Mound No. 20 is 31 feet in diameter, and 4 feet high. Mound No. 19 is 30 feet in diameter, and 4 feet high. Mound No. 18 is 33 feet in diameter, and 6 feet high. A large elm over 3 feet in diameter is growing on this mound, helping to preserve it. Mound No. 17 is 40 feet in diameter and 5 feet high. Mound No. 13 is 40 feet in diameter and 5 feet high. Mound No. 12 is 43 feet in diameter and 5 feet high. Mound No. 11 is west of the fence, in dense woods, and is 42 feet in diameter and 5½ feet high.

Also to the west of the fence and in the center of this hill-top group of mounds are conical mounds No. 14, 15 and 16. Mound No. 15 is 27 feet in diameter, and 4½ feet high. No. 14 is 49 feet in diameter, and 8 feet high. Both mounds have been partially opened in years gone by. Mound No. 16 is the largest mound located in eastern Wisconsin up to the present time. It has been opened by relic hunters about 50 years ago, who removed about 2 feet from the top. The soil removed was deposited to the north and south of the center, giving the mound an unsymmetrical appearance. The present north and south diameter is 77.00 feet, and the east-west diameter 67.55 feet is more closely that of the original. The present height is 14.78 feet. Many trees, 16 to 18 inches in diameter grow on the mound, and undoubtedly have helped maintain its abrupt slopes. This mound bears N 71° East from the No. 1 Station on mound No. 9. Mound No. 14, bears N 81° 31' East from No. 9. No linear or effigy mounds are in evidence on this large tract.

Immediately to the north of these mounds, on the adjoining Clark farm, N. E. ¼ of the N. E. ¼ Section 16 T, 12 N, R16 E, are the faint outlines of 3 large goose effigy mounds, and 11 conicals averaging 30 feet in diameter. Only the North ⅓ of one of these conical remains in its original form, after the huge highway shovels dug out the roadway. The hilltop, and many of the mounds were used as fill-in material on the road which was extended thru a swamp to the west of the hill. On the west and north approaches of this hill, where the slopes become more gradual, and adjoining the Rock River, were

located many circular hut or teepee sites. They varied from 12 to 16 feet in diameter,—each with a fire pit of 14 to 16 inches in diameter, in the center. Most of these pits contained 3 fire-blackened stones, 6 to 8 inches in diameter, in triangular formation, and yielded charred bones, flint, and burnt pottery of the Woodland type. Small, circular embankments, about 6 inches high were placed on the hillside slope of these areas for surface drainage. Originally this group, about 40 in number, extended in an irregular line, southward from "The Springs", the name it has been known by since the entry of the first settlers.

The many kinds of artifacts, stone, and copper which have been found in the immediate locality, together with the different kinds of pottery,—indicates that many different cultures have occupied this area at various times during the remote past.

ARCHEOLOGICAL REMAINS IN WYALUSING STATE PARK

By Dr. E. G. Bruder

Wyalusing State Park is located on the high bluffs south east of the confluence of the Wisconsin and Mississippi Rivers. It was formerly named Nelson Dewey State Park, in memory of the first governor of Wisconsin. The present name is an Indian name meaning "The Home of the Warrior." The beautiful and far reaching views from these high bluffs overlooking both broad river valleys made an awe-inspiring impression on the prehistoric people of the region. This is evidenced by the very many unusual earthworks they created, the large village sites, garden beds, and other remains which indicate their residence here extended to a remote past age.

The park is located in Grant County, Wisconsin, Town of Wyalusing T 6 N R6-7-W, containing 1671 acres in Sections 16, 17, 18, 19, 30, and 31, and has a frontage of about four miles along the Mississippi and two and a half miles along the Wisconsin River.

The "Procession of Mounds" group was first mentioned in a general way, in Bureau of Ethnology's Volume No. 12 in 1890-1891, and more completely described in the Wisconsin Archeologist's Volume 10, No. 3, Oct. 1911, but both of these reports required many days of surveying to complete an accurate record of the group referred to, and in addition the many other earthworks unmentioned in the park area.

Individual Group Recording

Knob Point, or Group A, is located on the north side of the park road to Yellow Thunder Point, on the high cliffs overlooking the Wisconsin River to the north. These mounds are in the center of the N.E. ¼ of the S. W. ¼ of Section 17, and are shown on Plate I, upper right corner.

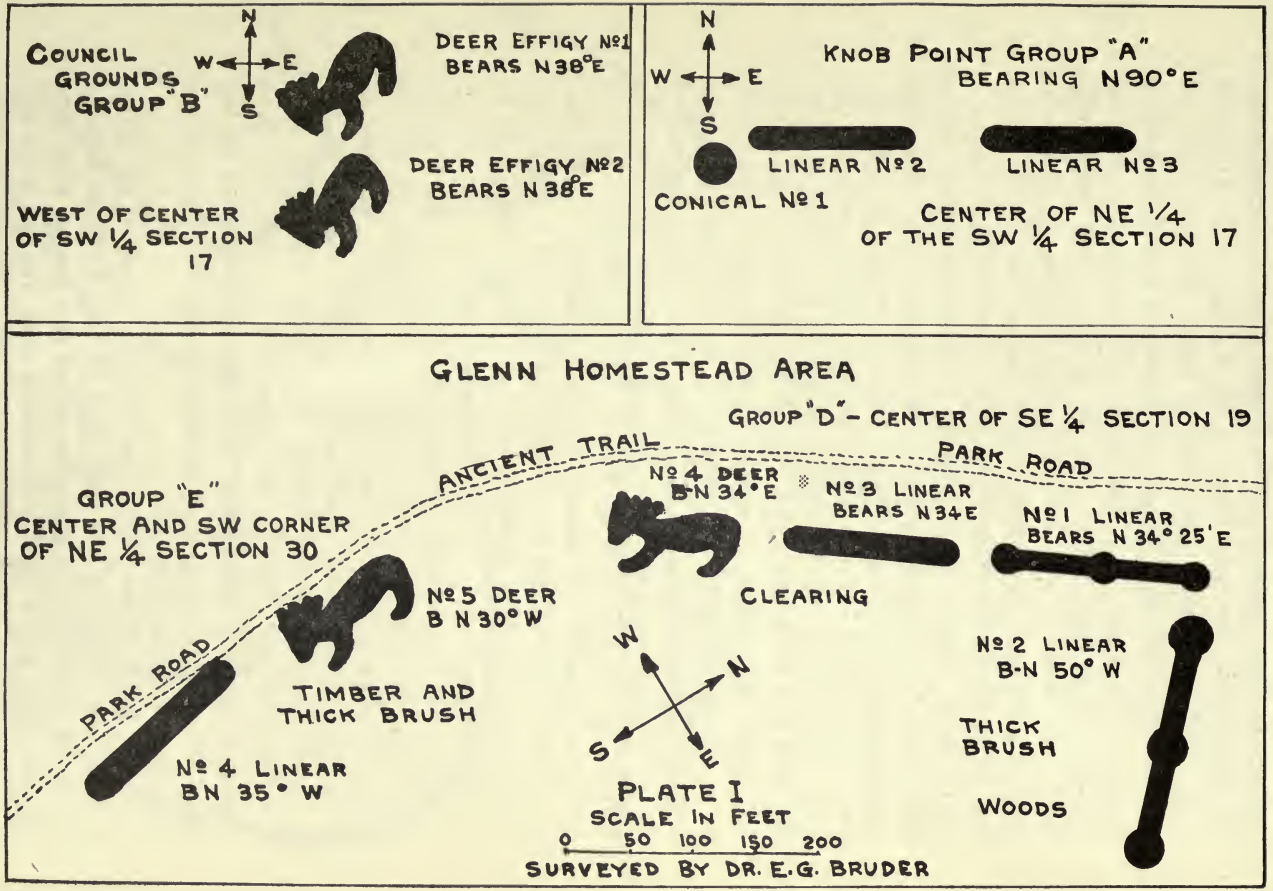
Conical Mound No. 1 is 22 feet in diameter and 2½ feet high. It has been mutilated by relic hunters, but it can be restored.

Linear Mound No. 2 is 125 feet long and 18 feet wide, and 3 feet high.

Linear Mound No. 3 is 117 feet long and 17 feet wide, and 3 feet high. Both linear mounds bear N 90° E Mg. They are well preserved.

Council Ground area, or Group B, consists of two very beautifully made deer effigy mounds, shown on the upper left of Plate I. No other earthwork of any kind is visible in the immediate area. No. 1 Deer effigy has an overall length of 75¼ feet, a height of 3½ feet, and a width of 45 feet from its back to the tip of foreleg. Its horns consist of four prongs 3 to 3½ feetlong, and 3 to 5 feet apart. The tail is 3 feet wide, and 6¾ feet long. The mound facing south with its legs pointing east, has a bearing of N - 38° E, Mg. All the angles between its principle anatomical features were recorded with a transit, and the intervening distances measured with a steel tape. It is an unusually perfect deer effigy. Plate II is a tracing made from a scaled drawing of this mound. Profile observations bring out in bold relief, its anatomical features, in their correct proportions, and revealing in graceful contours, the truly artistic ability of its prehistoric creators.

No. 2 Deer effigy has an overall length of 65 feet, a height of 3½ feet, and a width of 34½ feet from its back to tip of


COUNCIL GROUNDS GROUP "B"
N
W
E
S
DEER EFFIGY Nº1 BEARS N38°E
DEER EFFIGY Nº2 BEARS N38°E
WEST OF CENTER OF SW 1/4 SECTION 17
KNOB POINT GROUP "A" BEARING N90°E
LINEAR Nº2
LINEAR Nº3
CONICAL Nº1
CENTER OF NE 1/4 OF THE SW 1/4 SECTION 17
GLENN HOMESTEAD AREA
GROUP "D" - CENTER OF SE 1/4 SECTION 19
ANCIENT TRAIL
PARK ROAD
GROUP "E" CENTER AND SW CORNER OF NE 1/4 SECTION 30
Nº 4 DEER B-N 34°E
Nº 3 LINEAR BEARS N34E
Nº 1 LINEAR BEARS N 34° 25' E
CLEARING
Nº 5 DEER B N 30° W
TIMBER AND THICK BRUSH
PARK ROAD
Nº 4 LINEAR BN 35° W
Nº 2 LINEAR B-N 50° W
THICK BRUSH
WOODS
PLATE I
SCALE IN FEET
0 50 100 150 200
SURVEYED BY DR. E.G. BRUDER

foreleg. Its horns consist of five prongs about 2 feet long and 3½ feet apart. The deer bears N 38° E Mg. and is 19½ feet S. E. of No. 1 Deer. This mound shows definite signs of erosion, because of its close proximity to the playground nearby, and serving as "The bleachers." This mound, as well as the four other deer effigy mounds in this park, have been carefully measured and recorded, and because of their unusual similarity in proportions, and design, lead to the belief that the same people supervised their construction.

Procession of Mounds, or Group C, shown on Plate III, a name given by Moses Strong, Jr., the assistant of Dr. Increase A. Lapham, to similar series of mounds in this part of the state. The group consists of 28 mounds, on the edge of the high cliffs facing the Mississippi River to the West, extending 2145 feet from the north end of No. Linear, to the south end of No. 28 Conical. A narrow park road, open to the public as a path, parallels the mounds to the west, and is only a few feet from the edge of the cliffs. These cliffs rise 400 to 500 feet, almost perpendicular, from the Mississippi Wild Life Refuge, on the bottom lands below. The views from the tops of this escarpment are unsurpassable in this part of Wisconsin, obvious reasons for the selection of this site for the final resting place of these prehistoric people, who resided here in the remote past.

Mound No. 1 is a linear, 84 feet long, 26 feet wide, and 3½ feet high. We used its north end as a control station (A) to obtain bearings, distances and elevations of the mounds to the south. This mound contains the official marker of the U. S. Mississippi River Survey, U. S. B. M. Elevation 1108 feet. Lat. 42° 59' 17" N. and Long. 91° 07'-47" W. It is indeed, a strange coincidence, that this highest point in the area, was selected by the prehistoric people for their No. 1 mound, many centuries ago.

Mound No. 2, is the third Deer Effigy Mound in the Park. It is 63 feet long, 3½ feet high, and 36 feet from its back to the tip of front leg. Its horns consist of five prongs from 3 to 3½ feet long, and 5 to 6 feet between tips. Its tail is 10 feet long, and 2½ feet wide. This mound is the only effigy in the group, and has the bronze marker plate of the Wisconsin Arch

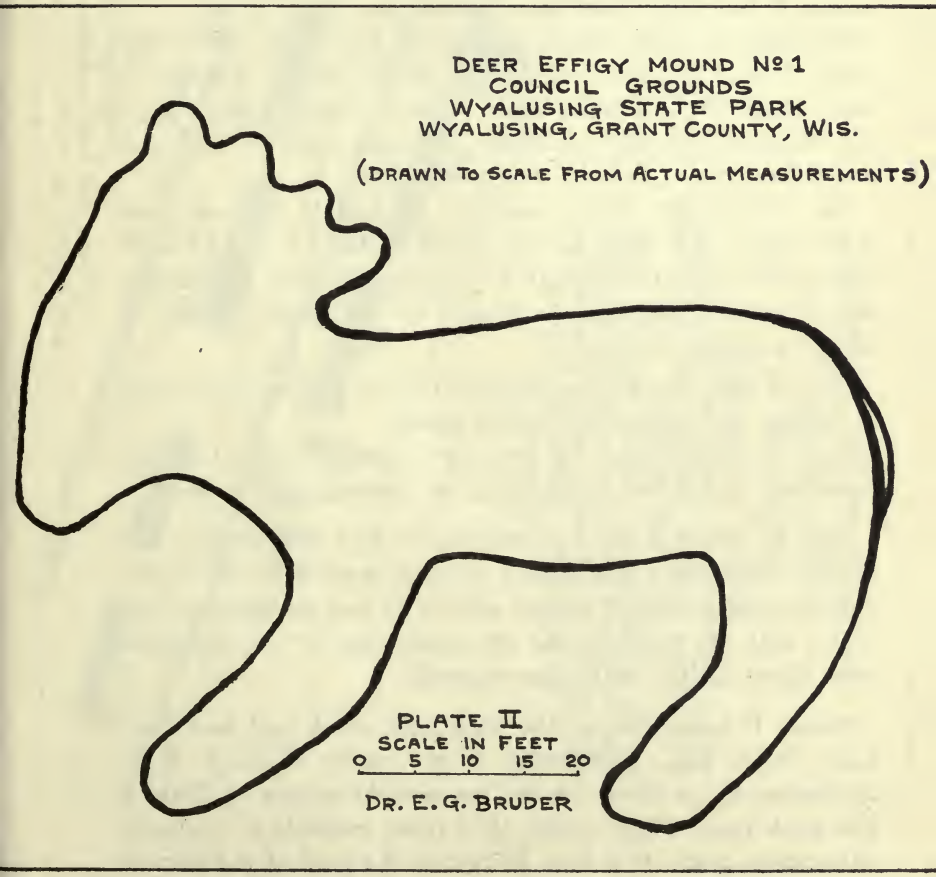
eological Society. It was dedicated in October 1911 by members and friends of the Society from Iowa and Wisconsin.

Mound No. 3 is a linear, 108 feet long, and 21 feet wide and 3½ feet high. It is 24.6 feet south of the deer effigy.

No. 4 is a linear, 118 feet long, 21 feet wide, and 3½ feet high, and is 28 feet north of No. 5. These four mounds bear S 17° W, and are perfectly level.

No. 5 Linear is 131 feet long, 21 feet wide, and 5 feet high. A second Station (B), was selected 18 feet south of No. 5 Linear. The bearing of the Mounds south to No. 12, is S 19° W, and the altitude is -0° 30', - almost level.

No. 6 Linear is 94 feet long, 21 feet wide, and 4 feet high, and is 82 feet south of No. 5 Linear.



No. 7 Linear is 103 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 4 feet high, and is 47 feet south of No. 6 Linear.

No. 8 is a compound, a linear 120 feet long, 20 feet wide, at the north third, 17 feet wide at the south third, and both segments 2½ feet high. A 30 foot diameter conical mound is superimposed on the center of the linear, raising the height there to 4½ feet. This mound is 38 feet south of No. 7.

No. 9 is well proportioned conical mound 52 feet in diameter and 7 feet high. It is 9 feet south of No. 8 Linear.

No. 10 is a Linear, 107 feet long, 5 feet high, and 20 feet wide. This mound is 20 feet south of No. 9.

No. 12 is a linear 88 feet long, 20 feet wide and 5 feet high.

No. 11 is a conical 36.6 feet in diameter, and 4 feet high, and is 6 feet direct east from Linear No. 12.

No. 13 is a linear, 61 feet long, 20 feet wide and 5 feet high. It is 5 feet south of N. 12. No. 14 is also a linear, 61 feet long, 20 feet wide and '4 feet high. No. 13 and No. 14 meet. No. 15 is a linear, 116 feet long, 20 feet wide and 5 feet higfh. It is 15 feet south of No. 14.

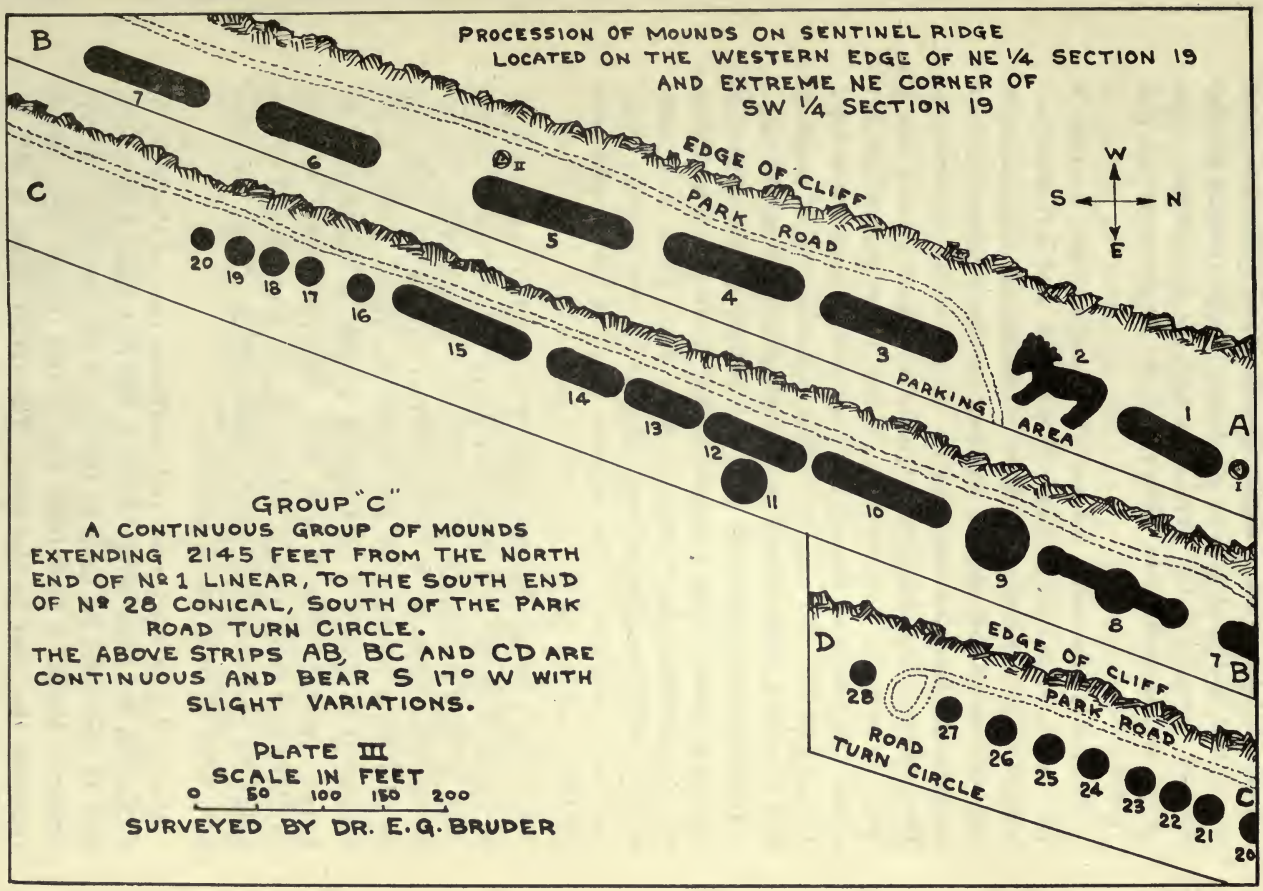
No. 16 and No. 17 are conicals, 21 feet in diameter and 4 feet high. No. 16 is 10 feet south of No. 15. No 17 is 26 feet south ofNo. 16. No. 18 is a conical 18 feet in diameter and 3½ feet high, and is located 29 feet south of No. 17. No. 18 and No. 19 meet.

No. 19 and No. 20 are conicals 18 feet in diameter and 4 feet high, and are spaced 10 feet apart.

Nos. 21, 22, 23, and 24, are small conicals 18 feet in diameter and are 3 feet high. They are spaced 10 feet apart.

Nos. 25, 26, and 27, are conicals 15 feet in diameter and 3 feet high. They are spaced 25 feet apart. No. 28 is the only unopened conical mound and is 15 feet in diameter and 3 feet high. It is located on the south edge of the park road turn circle, in line with other mounds.

Group D is located on the high land south and east from Long Valley area, specifically, in the center of the S. E. ¼ of Section 19, as shown at the lower right corner on Plate I. The park road, which winds thru these grounds is evidently the ancient trail. It is 5 to 10 feet to the west of the mounds


PROCESSION OF MOUNDS ON SENTINEL RIDGE
LOCATED ON THE WESTERN EDGE OF NE 1/4 SECTION 19
AND EXTREME NE CORNER OF
SW 1/4 SECTION 19
B
C
D
A
EDGE OF CLIFF
PARK ROAD
PARKING AREA
EDGE OF CLIFF
PARK ROAD
ROAD
TURN CIRCLE
W
S
N
E
GROUP "C"
A CONTINUOUS GROUP OF MOUNDS EXTENDING 2145 FEET FROM THE NORTH END OF Nº 1 LINEAR, TO THE SOUTH END OF Nº 28 CONICAL, SOUTH OF THE PARK ROAD TURN CIRCLE.
THE ABOVE STRIPS AB, BC AND CD ARE CONTINUOUS AND BEAR S 17° W WITH SLIGHT VARIATIONS.
PLATE III
SCALE IN FEET
0 50 100 150 200
SURVEYED BY DR. E.G. BRUDER

which are located on a slight elevation, and follows a winding course to the south and southeast. Many flowing springs abound throughout the park area and are particularly numerous in the immediate vicinity of the various mound and village sites.

No. 1 is a compound mound 174 feet long, and bearing N 34° 25' E. It is a long linear, 16 feet wide and 4 feet high,—with 3conical mounds, 22 feet in diameteer, superimposed on both ends, and one on the center. The centers of these mounds increase the elevation of the linear, by 20 inches in these places. The conicals are perfectly spaced on the linear, and are correctly proportioned. It has never been molested.

No. 2 is a similar mound, 208 feet overall, and 4 feet high. It bears N 50° - W, making almost a perfect right angle to No. 1 mound. Three conicals are superimposed in the same manner, one on each end, and one exactly in the center of the long linear. They also are 22 feet in diameter, and their centers increase the height by 20 inches. These 2 mounds are beautifully made, and very accurately constructed. Their purpose is unknown. The distance between the 2 mounds is 25 feet.

No. 3 in a linear, 141 feet long, 20 feet wide and 4 feet high. It bears N 34° E, and is 20 feet south of No. 1, and in line with it. 33.4 feet south of No. 3 linear is Deer effigy mound No. 4, bearing N 34° E. It is 101 feet long, 4 feet high, and 63 feet from its back to the tip of the foreleg. The horns consist of 6 prongs, 3 to 4 feet in length, and separated by spaces varying from 3 to 5 feet. The prehistoric builders exhibit their truly artistic talents in the construction of this beautiful and correctly proportioned effigy. Time has been very kind to its graceful contours.

Group E is in the center and southwest part of the N. E. ¼ of Section 30. Deer effigy No. 5 is 102 feet long, 4 feet high, and 49 feet from its back to the tip of the frontleg. Its five pronged horns, 5 feet long and 5 feet apart, are almost touching the road to the west. The effigy bears N 30° W. Its location, in dense brush and timber, caused the mound to be completely covered with a solid mass of very fine roots.

This resulted in the preservation of the very sharply defined and undisturbed outline through the many centuries. A huge oak, about 200 years old, is growing on its body, in front of its rear legs. Many other large trees are growing in close proximity to the mound. No grass is to be seen on this effigy, —only the deposition of leaf mold, from remote ages, and the fine capillary roots, forming a practically perfect mat, which eventuated in the best preserved deer effigy mound in the park. It is shown on Plate I, lower left corner. A close inspection of this mound will answer many questions, regarding the best way to preserve our prehistoric heritage, for future generations.

This effigy like all the deer mounds in this park, faces south, with legs pointing east.

No. 4 Linear, is 164 feet long, 22 feet wide, and 4½ feet high. The north end, covered by 3 large trees, touches the south park road. The Linear bears N - 31° - W, and is heavily overgrown with brush, and large trees, also resulting in the same sharply defined, and well preserved form, like that of deer effigy No. 5.

Group F, is in the center of the N. E. ¼ of the N. W. ¼, Section 30. This group contains 2 conicals 24 feet in diameter, and 4 feet high. Three large linears, 190 feet, 200 feet, and 220 feet long, and all 22 feet wide and 4½ feet high, complete this group. They are located on a ridge, bearing N 30° E., along an old logging road, west from the south park road. They have never been disturbed, and are well preserved, by the dense brush and timber growing over them.

Group G is in the S. W. ¼ Section 18 called Green Cloud hill. It is named after Chief Green Cloud of the Winnebagos, the last tribe to reside here, and who were removed by the Treaty of 1829.

One lone linear, 120 feet long, 4 feet high and 21 feet wide, comprises this group. It bears N. 90° E., and is in perfect condition, and located near the edge of the high cliffs, overlooking the Mississippi River.

The center and east half of Section 30, on both sides of the south park road, is the site of a large prehistoric village.

Mound groups, D, E. and E, flank it on the north, south, and west, respectively. To the east, and north are many flowing springs. The necessary road work and the removing of sod, has exposed large areas of worked flint, artifacts, and many kinds of pottery. The field has been worked, thus destroying all evidence of hut or teepee sites. The prehistoric people had carefully selected a well drained site, for both air and water, and were undoubtedly aware of the easily defended approaches from all sides of this encampment.

Point Lookout, 1180 feet, the most beautiful promontory on the park lands, is at the N. W. corner of the park, directly above the mouth of the Wisconsin River.

The many panoramic views, up and down both the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers are unsurrassed in this part of Wisconsin. It is believed that from this point, Father James Marquette and Louis Joliet in the year 1663, had their first view of the large river, which they canoed down the Wisconsin to find.

Signal Point, is located to the north of Point Lookout, and has a drop of about 500 feet to the river below. It is located on the extreme N. W. point of the escarpment, giving it a commanding view up the Mississippi and Wisconsin Rivers for many miles. A deep fissure, about 2½ feet wide, and 5 feet inward and over 100 feet deep, formerly existed on its western fringe.

Large spaces of fire-blackened, burnt stone, over two feet across, were clustered around this natural flue, which appeared from below and partly inside the edge of the cliff. The continuous rising air currents, adjacent to abrupt elevations of this kind gave the prehistoric people a means of sending their smoke signals high into the air. Mr. Paul Lawrence, Supervisor of Wyalusing Park, regretted having to close with concrete, this danegrous gap,—but remembers all its original features. A view from Point Lookout, Northeast to Signal Point, still reveals the fissure leading to the former signal rock. The rounding stone wall, and concrete floor cap the ancient, natural flue. This signal station bears N 90° W Mg., to a similar signal point located across the Mississippi, on the edge of the bluff of Iowa State Pike's

Peak Park. It also is in plain view of the fire-blackened rock, on the extreme southeast edge of the sharply projecting promontory, north of the confluence of the Yellow and Mississippi Rivers, in the Effigy Mounds National Monument.

Directly below Signal Point, on the low lands, and the small islands along the north bank of the Wisconsin River, is the now partly flooded battle ground of one of the last intertribal wars in Wisconsin. In 1830, in a fierce battle lasting two days and nights, the Sioux surprised and annihilated a band of the Sacs and Foxes, who had encroached on their hunting grounds. (B)

This survey was accomplished with the help of Charles Schoewe of Moose Lake, Wm. Andrew, Phil. Wiegand, Herbert Cornell, of Milwaukee, and Supt. Paul Lawrence of Wyalusing,—all members of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, and Harvey Peterson of the Wyalusing Park Staff. Certain camp sites, garden beds and several groups of earthworks in the park still remain to be surveyed, and recorded.

The immediate area adjoining the Park to the east, Sections 20, 21, 29, and 31 formerly contained several large groups of mounds,—one a chain of 36 conical and effigys, (A), village sites, and garden beds. Many of these earthworks have been almost destroyed through years of cultivation, though enough traces remain to warrant a complete survey. The Wyalusing Park area was definitely one of the larger settlements of the effigy mound people in Wisconsin. Forty-five of their well-preserved prehistoric earthworks are existant at the present time, and are easily accessible to the large numbers of people who come to see them. The beautiful scenery, combined with the recreation grounds and the modern park conveniences continue to attract many visitors from our neighboring states as well as from Wisconsin, in steadily increasing numbers.

(A) Bureau of Ethnology—12th Annual Report—1890-1892, page 91.

(B) Territorial Papers of the U. S., Vol. XII, Michigan Territory 1829-1837, pp. 125, 126.
See also State Historical Papers, Vol. XIII, 1929-30, pp. 100-101.

FOLSOM MAN AND CARBON 14

In view of the recent talk on Carbon 14 at the November meeting of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, given by Arthur Niehoff, assistant in anthropology at the Milwaukee Public Museum, we deem it apropos to quote the following article from Science Service, Chicago, which appeared in The Earth Science Digest:

"The mysterious ancient American, Folsom man, is an old-timer after all. He lived about 10,000 years ago. Anthropologists, who have found his distinctive stone spear points in diggings over a wide western U. S. area, had a bad scare when the first 'atomic calendar' tests of charcoal on his campfires showed a mere 4,000 years of age.

"Dr. Willard F. Libby of the University of Chicago's Institute of Nuclear Science made a recount on other material known to have been associated with Folsom man, whose skeletons have never been found. He extracted the radiocarbon from the charred meat within a burned bone from a long extinct species of bison that Dr. E. H. Sellards found associated at Lubbock, Texas, with things that Folsom man once used. The intensity of the exploding carbon atoms gave an age of 9,900 years, with an indefiniteness of 350 years more or less.

"The radioactive age tests can be made because cosmic rays from outer space smash nitrogen of the upper air into a radioactive kind of carbon which disintegrates with a half disappearing in 5,600 years. Weakness of radiation measures the antiquity of living matter that uses the carbon."

Notes

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INDIAN PLACE-NAMES IN WISCONSIN

Dr. Herbert W. Kuhm

Prefatory

Wisconsin is probably as rich in Indian place-names as any other state. The Indians of Wisconsin had names for the physiographical features of their native region,—the glinting lakes and solitary islands, the undulant hills and low-slung valleys, the swift-flowing rivers with their source springs, tributary creeks, rapids, falls, and portages,—all things to which they were tied by natural bonds. It is important that their aboriginal designations, together with their origin and obscure meaning, be recorded wherever possible.

As Wisconsin was the meeting-place of two of the greatest ethnological divisions of the American Indian east of the Rocky Mountains,—namely the Sioux and the Algonquin,—Indian place names in Wisconsin are generally of Ojibwa, Winnebago, Menomini, Potawatomi, or Sauk origin, tribes of the then great ethnic fissions. On occasion one tribe designated a place by one name and another tribe chose a different one for the same spot; or the tribal dialects made it seem that the place had names at variance with each other.

Though the study of place-names has received a good deal of attention in some parts of the United States, it is some years since any fresh work has been done on the place-names of Wisconsin. Yet this is certainly not because Wisconsin lacks in names nor that they are less interesting than those of other states. Since the researches of Huron H. Smith and Alanson Skinner, no study of any significance appeared until 1947 when Dr. Frederic G. Cassidy presented his scholarly contri-

bution, **The Place-Names of Dane County, Wisconsin.**

"On examining early American Place-names," wrote Dr. Cassidy, "one is struck by the amazing variety of spellings in which the same name may be recorded. The Indians naturally gave a name their own dialectal pronunciation; or if it belonged to a language other than their own, they were likely to distort it somewhat. The white men who heard the name might be speakers of French, English, or some other lanquage; they might hear more or less accurately and imitate the sounds more or less well; they might be careful and consistent spellers, or they might satisfy themselves with an approximate rendering. These and other factors are responsible for the variety of spellings, which in the course of time were sifted down until one became established by custom or official action."

As the Indian had no alphabet, Indian place-names come to us in varied forms, as the white man had to represent these phonetically as best he could; hence the wide divergence in their spelling. But, even in their changed forms, they are always flowing and melodious in sound, as witness such examples as Monona and Mendota, Chenequa and Chequamegon, Mequon, Kakagon and Nemahbin. No names imported from foreign lands surpass them in beauty or euphony, nor will any others serve to commemorate the vanishing race which once occupied this territory. That these Indian terms as they survive should still retain their beautiful and sonorous sounds is gratifying in view of the fact that most, if not all, of them have suffered corruption at the hands of the white man, in some cases to such extent that all relation with the original seems lost.

We gain a more lucid impression of the practical mind of the Indian from the translation of his place-names, for these are most descriptive, peculiarly appropriate, and invariably based on natural features. His system of nomenclature reflects his life in the open, close to nature, hunting and fishing for sustenance, in constant contact with the forests and streams, hills and plains. The Indian was seldom satisfied

with brief descriptive names, such as could be translated tersely into "green hill" or "swift river," but was partial to polysyllabic names, which, when translated, had such meanings as "mountain soaking its feet in water" or "place of the golden-breasted woodpecker."

The spelling of Indian words is subject to a great deal of variation not only among the tribes themselves but also among the authors of Indian literature. With different tribes adopting different interpretations of the phonetic expression, an apparent discrepancy in spelling was inevitable. We can take the word "Mississippi" as an example of such variance. The Sauk designated it as **Me-cha Sapo**; the Menomini, **Mecha Sepua**; the Kickapoo, **Me-che Sepe**; the Ojibwa, **Meze Zebe**; and the Ottawa, **Missis Sepi.** In all these slight variations, **mecha, meche, meze**, and **missis**, all mean the same thing,—"large or big;" and **sapo, sepua, sepa, zebe**, and **sepi**, all mean "river."

All over Wisconsin many aboriginal names are preserved by streams, lakes and hills, by counties, towns and villages. These geographic names that grace our landscape are a heritage from the Indians and far more expressively survive their departure than mounds, sites, or artifacts. This part of our inheritance from the aboriginal owners of this region are the most ancient memorials preserved in our history and literature, always to remain but seldom thought of in their full significance.

AGAH-SHING-MIS-KO-ME-GAH-MING

1. Ah-da-wa-gam, now Grant's Rapids, on the Wisconsin River.

"Ah-da-wa-gam,—'Two-sided rapids'."

Calkins, 1903, p. 122

AGAH-SHING-MIS-KO-GAH-MING

1. Agah-shing-mis-ko-me-gah-ming, now Plum Island, Door County.

"The native name for Plum Island was **Agah-shing-mis-ko-**

me-gah-ming, or 'Small Raspberry Island.''

Schumacher, 1918, p. 144

AGAMI-WIKWEDO SIBIWISHEN

1. Agami-Wikwedo Sibiwishen, now Whittlesey's Creek, Ashland County.

''There was formerly a considerable village (of Ojibwa) at the mouth of Whittlesey's Creek, called by the Indians **Agami-Wikwedo Sibiwishen**, which signifies 'a creek on the other side of the bay,' from **agaming**, (on the other side of a river, or lake), **wikwed** (a bay), and **sibiwishen** (a creek)''

Verwyst, 1895, p. 431

AHINHAN

1. Ahinhan Lake, in Langlade County

AHMIC

1. Ahmic, now Beaver Dam, River, in Dodge County.

''Captain T. J. Cram's 'Map of Wiskonsin Territory, 1839' shows the Beaver Dam River as the Ahmic River.''

Brown, 1922, p. 7

''The Chippewa word for beaver is **amik**, and the Potawatomi word is **mak** or **muk**.''

Brown, 1930, p. 21

AHNAPEE

1. Ahnapee Township, Kewaunee County,
2. Ahnapee River, Kewaunee County.

''Ahnapee is a corruption of **anin-api** (meaning 'when'), and contracted into **anapi** (pronounced **ah-nah-pee**).''

Verwyst, 1892, p. 390

''Ahnapee—(**ah-nup-pee**)—'when, or at what time,' Wheeler.''

File of Wis. Geog. Names

AHOZHOGUN

1. Ahozhogun Lake, Washburn County.

AH-QUAH-O-ME-NING

AH-GUAH-O-ME-GA-NING

1. Ah-quah-o-me-ning, now Bailey's Harbor, Door County.

''Bailey's Harbor, **Ah-quah-o-me-ning**, or 'fish go to shore'.''

Schumacher, 1918, p. 144

"Bailey's Harbor was **Ah-guah-o-me-ga-ning,** or 'fish go to shore.' "
Lawson, 1920, p. 51

(More specific is 'place where fish go to shore.'—H. W. K.)

AH-QUA-SHE-MA-GANING

1. Ah-qua-she-ma-ganing, now Whitefish Bay, Door County.

"The Indian designation for Whitefish Bay was **Ah-qua-she-ma-ganing.** A legend concerning this locality states that about two hundred years ago six canoe-loads of Indians went on a cranberry picking expedition to Manitou Island. They became lost in a fog and drifted about. When near the shore they heard the waves dash against the rocks at Whitefish Bay Point. They landed in safety, and named this place **Ah-qua-she-ma-ganing,** meaning 'save our lives'."
Schumacher, 1918, pp. 144-145

(If **Ah-quah-o-me-ganing**, with its locative terminal **ganing,** means 'place where fish go to shore,' then 'save our lives' as a meaning for **Ah-qua-she-ma-ganing** is questionable.—H.W.K.

A-KA-DO-WA-BE-WIN

1. A-ka-do-wa-be-win, now Conference Point, Lake Geneva, Walworth County.

"The name given to the point known as Conference Point, was **A-ka-do-wa-be-win,** referring to a steep rock or cliff. A thunderer (thunder bird) is said to have alighted here."
Brown & Brown, 1928, p. 199

A-KO-NO-COK

1. A-ko-no-cok, the Potawatomi village on the West Twin River, Manitowoc County.

"There was a "Potawatomi) village on the West Twin River, about four miles north of the present city of Two Rivers, named **A-ko-no-cok**, meaning Tail Rapids."
Lawson, 1920, p. 55

AKUANANUK SEPEU

1. Akuananuk Sepeu, Menomini for a river at New London, Waupaca County.

"**Akuananuk Sepu,**—'stranded log river.' "
Skinner, 1921, p. 388

ALGOMA

1. Algoma Township, Winnebago County.
2. Algoma, city in Kewaunee County.

"Algoma. From **A-goma,** Potawatomi for 'a snow-shoe.' "
Skinner, 1926, p. 399

"Algoma. (Ind. sandy place, or snowshoe)."
Wisconsin, 1941, p. 266

ALGONAC

1. Algonac Station, town in Marathon County.

(Algonac, with its locative terminal syllable,—**ac**, is obviously of Algonquin origin, as Saranac, Potomac, etc.—H. W. K.)

AMEK (AMIK)

1. Amek Lake, now Pest House Lake, Bayfield County.
2. Amik Lake, Vilas County.

"The Chippewa word for Beaver is **amik.**"
Brown, 1930, p. 21

AMNICON

1. Amnicon Township, Douglas County.
2. Amnicon Falls Township, Douglas County.
3. Amnicon Lake, Douglas County.
4. Amnicon River, Douglas County.
5. Amnicon Falls, in James Bardon Park, Douglas County.

"Amicon, a corruption of the Ojibwe word, **aminikan,** 'spawning ground'." Verwyst, 1892, p. 390

"The name, Amnicon, is derived from the Chippewa word **amnikan,** meaning spawning ground." Brown, 1938, p. 114

"Amnicon, of Chippewa extraction, meaning spawning bed for fish, as whitefish always enter the Amnicon River in the fall to spawn; pronounced **ah-min-ah-con,** without accent."
File of Wis. Geog. Names

Amnicon. Corruption of **aminikaning**—'spawning ground'—the syllable **ing** or **ng** is added to such words to designate lo-

cality; thus **aminikaning** means to, at, or from the spawning ground.'' File of Wis. Geog. Names

ANAKAKIKA

1. Anakakika, a Menomini village site near Waukechon, Shawno County.

''**Anakakika**, ('bark house place').''

Skinner, 1921, p. 389

AN-IN-ON-DUC-A-GON

1. An-in-on-duc-a-gon Lake, now Balsam Lake, Polk County.

''The Chippewa name for this (Balsam) Lake was **an-in-on-duc-a-gon**, 'evergreen place.' '' Brown, 1914, p. 33

ANIWA

1.Aniwa Township, Shawano County.
2. Aniwa, town in Shawano County.

''**Aniwa**, a corruption of the Ojibwe **aniwi** ('those'). **Aniwi** (pr. **au-nee-wee**) or **aniwa** refers, as a prefix, to superiority; e. g., **aniwigabawi**, he is taller than the rest; **aniwakiso aw mitig**, that tree is taller than the rest.'' Verwyst, 1892, p. 390

''Aniwa. The word for 'those' is **in-niw**, and for 'those things', **in-iw-ai-ah-een.** I do not recognize the word or its Indian etymology, if it has any.'' Wheeler, 1892, p. 390

ANTIGO

1. Antigo Township, Langlade County.
2. Antigo, city in Langlade County.
3. Antigo, now Spring, River, in Langlade County.

''Antigo received its name from **Nequi-antigo-seebeh**, the Chippewa Indian name of Spring River, signifying 'balsam evergreen river.' '' Dessureau, 1922, p. 99

''Antigo. 'Evergreen.' The Ojibwe word **'nikwi-antigo-sibi'** was formerly used as an Indian place name, and meant 'water running under evergreens' or 'the place where evergreens can always be found.' 'Andego' applied to a plant means 'evergreen.' ''

Smith, 1930, p. 254

APUKWA

1. Apukwa Lake, Vilas County.

"Apukwa, a Menomini word meaning 'slippery.'"

Smith, 1930, p. 254

ARKANSAW

1. Arkansaw, town in Pepin County.

"One of the Indian tribes in the Kansas region bore this name. The meaning of the word has been lost."

Lawrence, 1920, p. 132

ASHIGANI-SAGAIGN

1. Ashigani, now Bass, Lake, Washburn County.

"Bass Lake, in Chippewa, is **Ashigani-Sagaigan**, from **Ashigan** (bass), and **sagaigan** (inland lake)."

File of Wis. Geog. Names

ASHIPPUN

1. Ashippun Township, Dodge County.
2. Ashippun, town in Dodge County.
3. Ashippun Station, town in Dodge County.
4. Ashippun Lake, Waukesha County.

"Ashippun. Corruption of **ajiopan** (decayed lungs). **Aji** (pr. **ashee**), means decayed; **opan**, his lungs."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 391

"**As-sip-uhn**, given a sonorous accent to the last syllable means raccoon." Waukesha County, 1880, p. 378

"**Ashippun** from **ashpun**, Powatomi from 'a raccoon'. In Menomini the word for raccoon is **asipun**, which is nearer the Anglicized form." Skinner, 1926, p. 399

"**Aissibun**—Chippewa for raccoon." Burnham, 1930, p. 43

"Ashippun. 'Raccoon'. This is the Meskwaki (Prairie Potawatomi) word for raccoon." Smith, 1930, p. 254

"Ashippun—'raccoon,' which itself is an Algonquin Indian name from Virginia." Lacher, 1932, p. 851

"Ashippun—**Ashpun**, raccoon; **asepan, essiban**,—raccoon."

Forsbeck, 1936, p. 101

"Ashippun, from **ashpun**, raccoon. Information obtained

from Sam Wapuka, a Prairie Potawatomi of the Bald Eagle clan." Brown, 1930, p. 40

"Ashippun. '**Ah-zhi-pun**'—deteriorated lungs. Another word like the above is **a-zhi-pun**—what he told me. Wheeler." File of Wis. Geog. Names

ASHWAUBENON

1. Ashwaubenon Township, Brown County.
2. Ashwaubenon Creek, Brown County.

"Ashwaubenon. From **ashiwabiwining** (place where they watch, or keep a lookout, as for enemies." Verwyst, 1892, p. 391

"Ashwaubenon, corrupted from **ashawaubomay**, meaning 'Side Looks'." Vieau, 1888, p. 236

"Ashwaubenon. 'Side looks,' from the Menomini word **ashawaubomay.**" Smith, 1930, p. 254

ASKEATON

1. Askeaton, town in Brown County.

"Askeaton. Corruption of Ojibwe word **ashkidon** (raw mouth); **ashki** (pr. **ash-kee**), raw, and **odon**, his mouth." Verwyst, 1892, p. 391

"Askeaton. **Ash-ki-o-don**,—'raw mouth'." File of Wis. Geog. Names

ASKEWEE

1. Askewee, now Mud, Lake, in Waukesha County.

"Askewee—Mud Lake." Brown, 1930, p. 35

"Askewee—(mud)." Lacher, 1932, p. 851

ASSINI-SIPI

ASSENISIPI

1. Assini-Sipi, now the Rock River.

"An early Algonkian name for the Rock River was Assini-Sipi, or 'Stone river.' A 'Map of the Western Parts of the colony of Virginia, 1754' gives the name 'Assenisipi R.' to the Rock River. Other American and foreign maps of the years 1790 and 1820 carry the names 'R. Assenisipi or Rocky R.'" Brown & Brown, 1929, pp. 8-10

AU-PUH-KI-RA-KAN-E-WE SEBE

1. Au-puk-ki-ra-kan-e-we Sebe, now the Plover River, a tributary of the Wisconsin.

"Au-puh-ki-ra-kan-e-we Sebe,—River of Flags,—now the Plover." Hawkins, 1903, p. 120

AZTALAN

1. Aztalan Township, Jefferson County.
2. Aztalan, town in Jefferson County.
3. Aztalan Mounds State Park.

"The 'ancient city of Aztalan' has long been known as one of the wonders of the western world. The remains were discovered in 1836 by N. F. Hyer, Esq. The name 'Aztalan' was given to this place by Mr. Hyer because, according to Humboldt, the Aztecs, or ancient inhabitants of Mexico, had a tradition that their ancestors came from a country to the north, which they called Aztalan; and the possibility that these may have been the remains of their occupancy suggested the idea of restoring the name. It is made up of two Mexican words, **atl,** water, and **an,** near; and the country was probably named from its proximity to large bodies of water."
Lapham, 1855, p. 42

"It appears that the early and classic work of Alexander von Humboldt—(Researches Concerning the Institutions and Monuments of the Ancient Inhabitants of America; London, 1814)—gives us the name which has been applied to the site (i. e., Aztalan). The name Aztalan was given to the site by Judge Hyer because of his assumption that it was this spot to which Humboldt referred in his several statements concerning the land of origin of the ancient peoples of Mexico, though Humboldt spells the term 'Aztlan.' . . . We are indebted to Hyer for having given to our site here in Wisconsin this euphonius and historically interesting name."
Barrett, 1933, p. 25

"Aztalan. Mexican Indian name, meaning unknown."
Smith, 1930, p. 254

BAKEABASHKANG

1. Bakeabashkang, now Hayward, in Sawyer County.

"Bakeabashkang is Chippewa for branch swamp; i. e., a swamp which is a branch of a larger swamp."

File of Geog. Names

BASHAW

1. Bashaw Township, Washburn County.
2. Bashaw, town in Washburn County.
3. Bashaw Lake, Burnett County.
4. Bashaw Creek, in Burnett and Washburn Counties.
5. Bashaw Spring, town in Washburn County.

"Bashaw is a part of the name of the great Chippewa Indian chief, Wabashaw, sometimes spelled Wabasha."

Burnett County **Sentinel**, Nov. 4, 1903

BAUGAHJEWUNG

BUNGAHJEWIM

BUNGEHJEWIM

1. Baugahjewung Point, on the Wisconsin River, between Rhinelander and Nekoosa; known later as Pointe Bas.
2. Baugahjewung Rapids, now Whitney's Rapids, on the Wisconsin River.

"Bun-gah Je-wim:—End of the Rapids."

Calkins, 1903, p. 122

"Pointe Bas, a place which the Indians named Bungehjewim, 'end of rapids'."

Derleth, 1942, p. 38

BECK-GUA-AH-WONG

1. Beck-gua-ah-wong, a site a few miles south of the Namekagon River.

"At this place a band of Chippewa under Chief Na-nongga-bee were ambushed by a band of Dakota Sioux, who were on the warpath."

Brown & Becker, 1917, p. 84

BEKUENNESEE

1. Bekuennesee Falls of the Menominee River.

" 'Smoky Falls' from the Ojibwe words **'pakwene'**—smoke, and **'sibi'**—river."

Smith, 1930, p. 255

BIBON

1. Bibon, town in Bayfield County.
2. Bibon Swamp, in Bayfield County. ?

"Bibon. 'Winter.' The Ojibwe word for winter is 'bibon'."
Smith, 1930, p. 255

BISHIGOKWE-SIBIWISHEN

1. Bishigokwe-Sibiwishen Creek, about six miles east of Ashland, in Ashland County.

"Bishigokwe-Sibiwishen is a small creek . . . .. **Bishigokwe** means a woman who has been abandoned by her husband. In olden times, a French trader resided at the mouth of this creek. He suddenly disappeared,—whether murdered or not, is not known. His wife continued to reside for many years at their old home; hence the name."
Verwyst, 1895, p. 429

BIWABIK

1. Biwabik, now Iron Ore, River in Bayfield County.
2. Biwabik, town in Dodge County.

"Iron Ore River. Translation of the Ojibwe name of the river 'biwabik'—metallic." Smith, 1930, p. 256

"Iron River, in Chippewa, is **Biwabiko-sibi, from biwabik** (iron)." File of Geog. Names

"Biwabik is the Chippewa Indian name for Iron Mountain, in Dodge County, it is said, because the Manido (Manitou) obtained some of the metal for his thunderbolts."
Brown, 1937, p. 23

BIWABIKO-SIBI

1. Biwabiko-Sibi, now Iron River, Bayfield County.

"Iron River. Translation of the Ojibwe name of the town—**'biwabiko-sibi'**—metallic river." Smith, 1930, p. 256

BIWABIKO-WADJIW

1. Biwabiko-Wadjiw, now known as Iron Mountain, town in Dodge County.

"Iron Mountain. Translation of the Ojibwe name of the town—**'biwabiko-wadjiw'**—metallic mountain."
Smith, 1930, p. 256

BODJWIKWED

1. Bodjwikwed, Ojibwe name for the site of the city of Green Bay, Brown County.

BROKAW

Brokaw, town in Marathon County.
Mentioned as of Indian origin. Derleth, 1942, p. 40

BUCKATABON

1. Buckatabon Lake, Vilas County.

BUCKADA

1. Buckada, town in Douglas County.

"Buckada, of Chippewa extraction, means 'hungry'." Bukadawin,—famine."—Glossary, "Song of Hiawatha."

BUGITSQUIAN

1. Bugitsquian, old Ojibwa Indian village in S. E. ¼ of Sec. 6, Rhine Township, Sheboygan County. About one-quarter mile east of the Sheboygan River.

"The meaning of **Bugitsquian,** according to Simon Kahquados, is 'river flat marsh'." Gerend, 1920, p. 169

CALUMET

1. Calumet County.
2. Calumet Township, Fond du Lac County.
3. Calumet Harbor, town in Fond du Lac County.
4. Calumetville, town in Fond du Lac County.
5. Calumet—"A former Menomini village on the east shore of Lake Winnebago, Wis., with 150 inhabitants in 1817."

"Calumet. Derived from 'kennamick' or 'kennomic.' " Gannett, 1905

"Calumet. Corruption of 'pakwene'—smoke, and 'mic'—bush." Smith, 1930, p. 255

CARCAJOU

1. Carcajou Point, on the north shore of Lake Koshkonong, Jefferson County.

Carcajou, Algonquin for "wolverine," is a common Indian term used extensively from the northern Cree to Alaska, we were informed by W. C. McKern.

CARRAMANA

CARAMAUNEE

"Carramana means 'walking turtle,' after an old Winnebago chief. Brown's **History of Rock County**, p. 51."

File of Geog. Names

"Carramana, from **Kay-ray-mau-nee**, or Walking Turtle, a Winnebago chief." Draper, 1856, p. 259

CATAWBA

1. Catawba Township, Price County.
2. Catawba, town in Price County.

"Catawba—probably from the Choctaw **katapa**, 'divided, departed, a division.' The most important of the eastern Siouan tribes." Hodge, 1907, v. 1, p. 213

CAYUGA

1. Cayuga, town in Ashland County.

"Cayuga. Named for the New York tribe of Cayuga Indians." Smith, 1930, p. 255

"Cayuga. **(Kweniogwen**, 'the place where locusts were taken out'—Hewitt.) A tribe of the Iroquoian confederation, formerly occupying the shores of Cayuga Lake, N. Y. Some of the Cayuga are with the Oneida in Wisconsin.

Hodge, 1907, v. 1, p. 223

"Cayuga. Ind., the place where locusts are taken out."

Wisconsin, 1941, p. 395

CEKUTAY-WEQUEING

1. Cekutay-Wequeing, now Washington Harbor, on Washington Island, Door County.

"Washington Harbor was **Cekutay-Wequeing**, or 'Cekutay's Harbor,' after the chief of the same name."

Schumacher, 1918, p. 144

CHA-CHA-TAY

1. Cha-cha-tay, now known as Big Hill, on the west bank of the Rock River, opposite Beloit, Rock County.

"The Winnebago name of Big Hill was Cha-cha-tay."

Brown & Brown, 1929, p. 78

CHAKE-WAUKSHI-GO-EE-NAU

1. Chake-waukshi-go-ee-nau Mountains, at Dodgeville, Iowa County.

"Chake-waukshi-go-ee-nau,—'morning of Life' in the Winnebago language." Emerson, 1933, p. 121

CHE-BAH-YE-SHO-DA-NING

CHE-BAH-YE-SKO-DA-MING

1. Che-bah-ye-sho-da-ning, now Egg Harbor, Door County.

"Egg Harbor was called **Che-bah-ye-sho-da-ning,** or 'Ghost Door.'" Schumacher, 1918, p. 144

"Egg Harbor was known to the Potawatomi as **Che-bah-ye-sko-da-ming,** or Ghost Door." Lawson, 1920, p. 51

CHENEQUA

1. Chenequa, village in Waukesha County.
2. The Chenequa Lakes, a name given to Pine, Beaver and North Lakes, in Waukesha County.
3. Chenequa, or Pine, Lake, Waukesha County.
4. Chenequa Springs, northeast end of Pine (Chenequa) Lake, Waukesha County.
5. Chenequa Lake, Bayfield County.

"Dr. Increase A. Lapham may be credited with having first given the attractive name of Chenequa to Pine Lake. In his book, 'Wisconsin,' published by P. C. Hall at Milwaukee in 1844, he says: 'The Indian name is Chenequa or Pine, given in consequence of a few pine trees having been found on a small neck of land or island in this lake.'

"The Potawatomie word for pine is **shquak,** and the Chippewa word is **jingwak.** The pronunciation and spelling of both words is sufficiently like Chenequa that Dr. Lapham may readily have derived his spelling of the name from hearing either of them spoken. The Menomini word for pine is **aska.**

"Rev. E. P. Wheeler, an authority on Wisconsin Indian names, thinks that the name Chenequa may have been derived from the Potawatomi word **gih-chih-nah-quak,** or 'big tree grove.'

"John Blackhawk, an authority on the language and customs of his tribe, thinks that the name might have been derived from the Winnebago word **chenukra**, or 'village.'

"A map of 'Wiskonsin Territory, 1839,' prepared by Capt. Thomas J. Cram, government topographical engineer, gives the name Gay Lake to Pine Lake . . . the name Gay is probably derived from the Potawatomi word **que** (quay)—'woman,' or the Chippewa word **ikwe** or **akwe.**

"Huron H. Smith, the ethnobotanist, states that the word Chenequa means 'Indian woman' or 'Indian maiden,' and that the word is a Chippewa rather than a Potawatomi one.. 'Chene' is an abbreviation of '**inishinabe,**' meaning Indian, and pronounced '**shini**' or '**shunay,**' and **ikwe** or **akwe** is the word for woman.

"The Potawatomi of the present day give to the (Pine) lake the name **Shquak-mbes**, or Pine Lake. There is no doubt but that the Prairie Potawatomi, the Menomini and the Winnebago all had names for the Chenequa lakes."

Brown, 1930, pp. 20-22

"Chenequa—'pine.' " Lacher, 1932, v. 2, p. 851

CHEQUAH-BIKWAKI

1. Chequah-Bikwaki, now Thunder Mountain, Oconto County.

"The Menomini, Chippewa, Potawatomi, and Ottawa have myths and legends about Thunder Mountain, in the northeastern part of Oconto County, near a settlement called Mountain. To this high hill the Indians have given the name Che-Quah Bikwaki, or Thunder Mountain, **che-quah** being the native name for the Thunderbirds who built their nests on its chest." Brown, 1937, p. 22

CHEQUAMEGON

1. Chequamegon Bay, between Ashland and Bayfield Counties, in Lake Superior.
2. Chequamegon Point, Ashland County, in Lake Superior.
3. Chequamegon National Forest, in Bayfield, Sawyer, Ashland, Price and Taylor Counties.

"Chewuamegon (bay, Wis.)—Corruption of **chagaouami-**

goung, the French method of spelling **jagawamikong**, (pr. **shau-gau-wau-me-kong**), which means a long, narrow strip of land running into a body of water, such as a lake or bay.''

Verwyst, 1892, p. 391

''Chequamegon, by the Rev. John Clark, native pastor in charge of the mission at Odanah, is pronounced '**Shah-kah-wah-mee-kunk,**' with a decided accent of the last syllable. Mr. Wheeler also accents the last syllable, but prefers the pronunciation '**sheh-gu-wah-mi-kung.**' Warren writes the name '**Chagouamigon**' in his 'History of the Ojibways.' ''

Davidson, 1892, pp. 434-435

''Chequamegon has been spelled many ways, just as we would expect when the spelling has been made up from pronunciations of illiterate Indians and white men, and when the correct spelling was mere guess work.

''Schoolcraft defines Chequamegon as 'Low Land.'

''In Bishop Baraga's dictionary, 'Jabonique' is called a needle. A low sandy point as Chequamegon is like a needle; the inference is that the word 'Jabonique,' from its meaning, may very well have been the word from which Chequamegon originated.

''The writer, Edward Jaken, says the Point was probably first named 'Jawaumika,' meaning 'there are large extended breakers;' but later the legend of the beaver (in which the beaver makes the bay and the island), caused writers to imagine that the word **Amik**, the beaver, was a part of it, and dropped the final letter 'a'.

''Until very recent times, such students of local history as Fifield wrote 'Chequamik or Chewamick Point,' the last syllable meaning the word 'beaver.'

''The person who knows exactly what the word Chequamegon means is yet to be found. Every once in a while, though, someone publishes a statement telling us exactly the meaning of the word, which is somewhat surprising, as even our best authorities have differed greatly.

''Chequamegon, according to James Schoolcraft, came from Chippewa words, meaning 'low land' and 'ing' meaning a

place; hence Shagwamegon, which has been spelled 40 ways, from Cheqwamegon to Chequamegon. Also among its definitions is 'the bay of the long point.'

"And now we come to our last word on this particular phase of Chequamegon, in the shape of a letter from the Rev. E. P. Wheeler. This man was born in the Old Mission at LaPointe, the son of the missionary who followed Ayer, Boutwell and Hall. He speaks the Chippewa tongue, and has written extensively on the subject of this early history. Here is his letter:

Oct. 27, 1928

"Dear Burnham: Verwyst's interpretation of Chequamegon follows in the main that of Bishop Baraga, but there isn't a single syllable that has the least suggestion of a 'point,' neither is there any indication of the idea of extension. Indeed when it comes to ethnological analysis of Indian words, the Indians themselves are mere guessers.

"The following basic ideas are included in the word **Szah-guh-wah-mih-koong**: '**Zhah**' involves the idea of 'rising.' '**Guh-wah**' is a contraction of a word with an extra syllable, and it is spelled '**uh-goh-woh,**' meaning 'hardly any' or slightly.' The third syllable **mih** means 'water on shore' or 'water on beach.'

"Taking the three syllables together, they mean a 'thinly movement of water toward beach.' The fourth syllable **koong** mean 'region,' that is, it is of locative force. The different syllables and their meanings are 'A thin sheet of water covering the shore landing region,' in other words, 'the region of shallow water, or shoal water.'

"This is the meaning Tanner gives the word, and the structure of the word supports his interpretation. Tanner was interpreter for the government of the treaties of 1833 and others. He was an interpreter for Schoolcraft; also for Longfellow's **Hiawatha.**

"Yours truly, E. P. Wheeler."

Burnham, 1930, pp. 3-6, & 90

"In his authoritative 'History of the Ojibway Nation,' in the Minnesota Historical Collections, Warren prefers the spelling 'Chagoumigon,' although he recognizes 'Shagawaumi-

kong' and 'Shaugahwaumikong.' 'Chequamegon' is the current modern form. Rev. Edward P. Wheeler, an authority on the Chippewa tongue and traditions, says the pronunciation should be 'Sheh-gu-wah-mi-kung,' with the accent on the last syllable. Thwaites, 1895, p. 399

'Chequamegon.—W. W. Warren, in his **History of the Ojibway Nation,** relates an Indian legend to explain the origin of this name. Menabosho, the great Algonkin semi-god, who made the earth anew after the deluge, was once hunting for the great beaver in Lake Superior, which was then but a large beaver-pond. In order to escape his powerful enemy, the great beaver took refuge in Ashland Bay. To capture him, Menobosho built a large dam extending from the south shore of Lake Superior across the bay to Madeleine Island. In doing so, he took up the mud from the bottom of the bay and would occasionally throw a fist-full into the lake, each handful forming an island,—hence the origin of the Apostle Islands.

"His dam completed, Menobosho started in pursuit of the patriarch of all beavers; he thinks he has him cornered. But, alas, poor Menobosho is doomed to disappointment. The beaver breaks through the soft dam and escapes into Lake Superior. Thence the word **chagaoumig**, or **shagawamik** ('soft beaver dam'),—in the locative case, **shagawamikong** ('at the soft beaver dam'). Thus did the ancient Indians, the **Gete-anishinabeg**, explain the origin of Chequamegon Point and the islands in the vicinity.

"The Rev. Edward Jacker, a well-known Indian scholar, suggests the following explanation of Chequamegon: The point in question was probably first named **Jagawamika, (pr. shagawamika)**, meaning 'there are long, far-extending breakers;' the participle of this verb is **jaiagawamikag** ('where there are long breakers'). But later, the legend of the beaver hunt being applied to the spot, the people imagined the word **amik** (beaver) to be a constituent part of the compound, and changed the ending in accordance with the rule of their language,—dropping the final **a** in **jagawamika,** making it **jagawamik,**—and used the locative case, **ong (jagawamikong)**, in-

stead of the participle form, **ag (jaiagawamikag.''**
Verwyst, 1895, pp. 426-428

''Chequamegon. 'There is a long shallow place in the lake' or a 'long, narrow strip of land running into a large body of water.' The Ojibwe word '**jagawamika**' is pronounced about as in English '**She-kwa-may-gone**'.'' Smith, 1930, p. 255

CHEROKEE

1. Cherokee, town in Marathon County.

''Cherokee—'Cave people'—named for the Cherokee or Tsaragi tribe.'' Smith, 1930, p. 255

CHETEK
CHETAK

1. Chetek Township, Barron County.
2. Chetek, town in Barron County.
3. Chetek Lake, Barron County.
4. Chetek River, Barron County.
5. Chetak Lake, Sawyer County.

''Chetek. Named for the Ojibwe chief, Chetek.''
Smith, 1930, p. 255

''The name Chetek is of Chippewa origin and is said to be the Indian name for pelican.''
Brown and Becker, 1917, p. 84

''Chetek or Chetak Lake, in Chippewa, is **Jede-Sagaigan,** from **Jede** (pr. shay-tah), a swan or pelican, and **sagaigan,** an inland lake.'' File of Geog. Names

CHEWALAH

1. Chewalah Lake, Vilas County.

CHICAUG
CHICOG

1. Chicog Lake, Washburn County.
2. Chicog Township, Washburn County.

CHIPPECOTTON
CHEPEKATAW
SCHIPICOTEN
KIPIKAWI

1. Chippecotton River, now Root River, Racine County.

"The Indian name of the Root River was Chip-pe-cot-ton,' which means 'root.' " Stone, 1916, p. 132

"The Indian names for the place were Chippecotton and Kipikawi, both meaning approximately 'a river filled with tangled roots.' " Brown, 1932, p. 423

"The name Root River is derived from the Potawatomi **Che-pe-kat-aw Sebe**, meaning 'Root River,' also rendered Chippecotton or Schipicoten." Lawson, 1920, p. 67

CHIPPENAZE

1. Chippenaze Lake, Washburn County.

CHIPPEWA

1. Chippewa County.
2. Chippewa Falls, city in Chippewa County.
3. Chippewa Lake:
   a. in Bayfield County.
   b. in Sawyer County.
4. Chippewa River.
5. Chippewa Falls:
   a. of the Chippewa River.
   b. of Duncan Creek.
6. Chippewa Landing, town in Chippewa County.
7. South Chippeway, town in Chippewa County.
8. Chippewa Crossing, now Glidden, in Ashland County.

"Chippewa (popular adaption of **Ojibway,**) 'to roast till puckered up,' referring to the puckered seam on their moccasins; from **ojib,** 'to pucker up,' and **ub way,** 'to roast.' " Hodge, 1907, p. 277

"The meaning of their (Ojibway) tribal name is suggestive: 'to roast till puckered up;' from **o-jib,** 'puckered up, and **ab-**

way, 'to roast.' Probably originated from their practice of putting captives to death by torture with fire."

Davidson, 1892, p. 439

"Chippewa—Abbreviation of the old **Ojibway.** The Chippewas called themselves **Ojibweg.**" Verwyst, 1892, p. 391

"Chippewa. Named for the Ojibwe Indians. 'To roast until puckered up.' The puckering of the skins in the toe of the Ojibwe moccasins is said to have led to their name. Others say it referred to their treatment of captives of war."

Smith, 1930, p. 255

CHITTAMO

1. Chittamo, town in Washburn County.

"Chittamo. 'Squirrel.' The Ojibwe word for squirrel is **'ojidamo.'** " Smith, 1930, p. 255

CISCO

1. Cisco River, in Winnebago County.

"Cisco, an Indian word, tribe unknown, meaning 'trout of an oily nature.' " Smith, 1930, p. 255

COO-NO-MO-WAUK SEEPE

1. Coo-no-mo-wauk Seepe, now the Bark River, in Waukesha County.

"The Bark River was called Coo-no-mo-wauk Seepe, by the Pottawatomies." Waukesha, 1880, p. 381

DACADA

1. Dacada, town in Sheboygan County.
2. Dacada Lake, now Grasser Lake, Sheboygan County.

"Dacada. Same meaning as Dakota, namely, 'Allies.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 256

DAKOTA

1. Dakota Township, Waushara County.
2. Dakota, town in Waushara County.

"Dakota ('Allies'). The largest division of the Siouan family, commonly known as Sioux." Hodge, 1907, p. 376

"The wide plains of the Dakotas were the home of the Sioux or Dakota tribes, and this name, which according to dialect,

was also written Lakota, Lahkota, or Nakota, signifies 'Allies,' was used as the common name of all confederated Sioux tribes." Lawrence, 1920, p. 132

"Dakota. Name for a branch of the Sioux Indians, the Dakotas." Smith, 1930, p. 256

DAY-CHO-LAH

1. Day-cho-lah, now Green Lake, town in Green Lake County, on east shore of lake of same name.

"Winnebago Indians, who lived here, knew the lake as Day-cho-lah, (Green Waters), translated later by the French as Lac du Verde." Wisconsin, 1941, p. 364

DECICIK

1. Decicik Lake, Winnebago name for Lake Michigan.

"Lake Michigan. The Winnebago called the lake 'Decicik,' meaning 'Bad, or Dangerous Lake.'" Smith, 1930, p. 257

DEJOP

1. Dejop, Winnebago village at site of present city of Madison, Dane County.

"Madison. 'Four Lakes,' a Winnebago word given the village was 'Dejop,' meaning 'four lakes.'" Smith, 1930, p. 258

DO-GEE-RAH

Do-gee-rah Spring, in Dane County.

"At Nakoma, on the west side of Lake Wingra, is the Do-gee-rah Spring, taking its name from the pre-pioneer Winnebago camp once located there." Brown, 1938, p. 83

E-NEEN-NE-SHUN-NUCK

1. E-neen-ne-shun-nuck, now the Rock River.

"The old Winnebago Indian name for the Rock River was E-neen-ne-shun-nuck, or 'river of big stones.'" Brown and Brown, 1917, p. 8

E-NEE-PORO-PORO

1. E-nee-poro-poro, a Winnebago village on the site of the

present city of Janesville, Rock County.

"A Winnebago village was then (1829-1832) located on the site of present Janesville. The Indian name of the 'Round Rock' Winnebago village was **E-nee-poro-poro.**"

Brown, 1936, p. 70

"The most important historic village between the Catfish (Howinch) village, near Fulton, and the Turtle village, at Beloit, was the village located on the Rock River at Janesville. The Indian name of this village was **E-nee-poro-poro,** meaning 'round rock, or stone,' taking its name from the large stone outcrop in the river known later as Monteray Point.

"John H. Kinzie, (the Indian agent) in his Winnebago Indian census of 1829-1832, gives the name of this village as 'Round Rock.' This village was located on the north bank of the Rock River in the part of Janesville located along Western Avenue, and known in former years as Monteray."

Brown and Brown, 1929, pp. 63-64

E-NEE-WA-KAN-JUNK

1. E-nee-wa-kan-junk, now Monteray Point, Rock River, Rock County.

"The Winnebago name of this rock (the large stone outcrop in the Rock River, at Janesville, known as Monteray Point). appears to have been **E-nee-wa-kan-junk,** 'spirit stone, or medicine rock.' "

Brown and Brown, 1929, pp. 63, 65

E-NU-BI-JAH

E-NEE-BI-JAH

1. E-nu-bi-jah, now Lake Monona, Dane County.

"Lyman C. Draper, in one of his manuscripts, gives the Winnebago name for Lake Monona as **E-nu-bi-jah** (E-nee-bi-jah), meaning second lake." Brown, 1922, p. 122

E-QUAY-DON

1. E-quay-don, old Chippewa village at what later became the western part of the city of Ashland, Ashland County.

"E-quay-don, with the accent on the second syllable, was the

predecessor of Ashland. It means 'the settlement at the head of the bay,' which the Chippewa concentrated into one word."
Burnham, 1930, p. 433

ESCANABA

1. Escanaba Lake, Vilas County.

ESSIBANI-PASSADINANG

1. Essibani-Passadinang, now Coon Valley, in Vernon County.

"Essibani-Passadinang, is Chippewa, from 'essiban,' (coon, raccoon), 'passadina,' (a valley), and the terminal '-ang', indicating a place." File of Geog. Names

ESSIKAG-SAGAIGAN

1. Essiikag-Sagaigan, now Clam Lake, Burnett County.

"Essikag-Sagaigan, is Chippewa for Clam Lake, from '**essika**', (there are clams) and '**sagaigan,**' (inland lake.)"
File of Geog. Names

ESSIKAG-SIBI

1. Essikag-Sibi, now Clam River, Burnett County.

"Essikag-Sibi, is Chippewa for Clam River, from '**essika**' (there are clams), and '**sibi**' (river.)" File of Geog. Names

E-WOO-SANAU

1. E-woo-sanau, a former spring at the base of Maple Bluff, Madison, Dane County.

"**E-woo-sanau**, a Winnebago word meaning 'he thirsts.'"
File of Geog. Names

GA-ESSIKAG-KAKABIKANG

1. Ga-Essikag-Kakabikang, now Clam Falls, Burnett County.

"Ga-Essikag-Kakabikang, is Chippewa, from '**essika**' (there are clams), and '**kakabikang**' (a waterfall)."
File of Wis. Geog. Names

GAGEN

1. Gagen, town in Oneida County.

"Gagen, from Ojibwe word 'gagego,' meaning 'no.'"
Smith, 1930, p. 256

GA-JIGWANABIKOKAG

1. Ga-Jigwanabikokag, now Grindstone Lake, Sawyer County.

"Grindstone Lake, in Chippewa, is **Ga-jigwanabikokag**, from **'jigwanabik,'** a grinding-stone." File of Geog. Names

GA-MANANOSIKAG

1. Ga-Mananosikag, now Hardwood Island.

"Hardwood Island, in Chippewa, is **Ga-Mananosikag**, meaning 'place of hardwood, or ironwood trees.'"

File of Geog. Names

GA-NUH-KIASH-KOH-DA

1. Ga-nuh-kiash-koh-da, now Washburn, Bayfield County.

"Ga-nuh-kiash-koh-da, 'the meeting place,' a Chippewa name." Emerson, 1933, p. 41

GA-WAKAMITIGWEIAG-SIBI

1. Ga-Wakamitigweiag-Sibi, now the Eau Claire River, Eau Claire County.

"Ga-Wakamitigweiag-Sibi, 'Clear Water River,' from **'wakamitigweia sibi,'** the water of the river is clear."

File of Geog. Names

GEBAGAMING

1. Gebagaming, now Graveyard Creek, Ashland County.

"Gebagaming (Graveyard Creek) was located on the shore of Oronto Bay, Lake Superior, near a Chippewa cemetery."

Brown, 1925, p. 12

GENESEE

1. Genesee Township, Waukesha, Waukesha County.
2. Genesee, town in Waukesha County.
3. South Genesee, town in Waukesha County.
4. Genesee Depot, town in Waukesha County.
5. Genesee Lake, Waukesha County.

"Genesee was named by Benjamin Jenkins, pioneer, after his former home in the Genesee Valley in New York, meaning 'there it has high banks.'" Lacher, 1932, p. 851

GE-SHIB-NI-BIS

1. Ge-shib-ni-bis, now Lake Como, Walworth County.

"The name of Lake Como is given on early maps of the region as Duck Lake. The Indians knew the lake as a good hunting ground for water fowl and muskrats. Their name for it was **Ge-ship-ni-bis**, or 'duck water.'

Brown and Brown, 1928, p. 200

GIGITO-MIKANA

1. Gigito-Mikana, old Ojibwa council trail near Vanderventer's Creek, Ashland County.

"At Vanderventer's Creek was the celebrated **Gigito-Mikana**, or Council Trail, so called because here the Chippewa held a celebrated council." File of Geog. Names

GIGITO-MIKANA-SIBIWISHEN

1. Gigito-Mikana-Sibiwishen, now Vanderventer's Creek, Ashland County.

"Gigito-Mikana-Sibiwishen, is Chippewa, meaning 'Council-trail Creek.'" File of Geog. Names

GIGONSI-SIBIWISHEN

1. Gigonsi-Sibiwishen, now Fish Creek, at the head of Chequamegon Bay, Ashland County.

"Gigonsi-Sibiwishen, 'a little fish creek,' from 'gigons' (a small fish, or minnow), and 'sibiwishen' (a creek)."

File of Geog. Names

GITIGONING

1. Gitigoning, Ojibwa village in Ashland County, which later became the town of Odanah, Ashland County.

"Gitigoning, meaning the 'Old Gardens,' was referred to as 'the village' by the early missionaries, which is simply 'Odanah.'" Burnham, 1930, p. 434

GOGOGASHUGUN

1. Gogogashugun River, Iron County.
2. Gogogashugun Fork, (west branch) of the Montreal River, Iron County.

"Riviere du Milieu (Middle River) was without doubt the west branch of the Montreal River. Some of the early maps

give the Indian name of the stream as Gogogashugun.''

HAY-NEE-AH-CHAH

1. Hay-nee-ah-chah, now Trempealeau, Mountain, on the Mississippi River, at the mouth of the Black River, in Perrot State Park.

''Trempealeau Mountain, 'Hay-nee-ah-chah' or 'Soaking Mountain' to the Winnebagoes. Legend has it that having given offense to Wakanda, this 'Soaking, or Sinking Mountain' was believed to be slowly disappearing beneath the waters of the Mississippi.'' Brown, 1938, pp. 23-24

''Trempealeau Mountain, called Hay-nee-ah-chah (Soaking Mountain) by the Winnebago, because from a distance it appears to rise directly out of the water.''

Wisconsin, 1941, p. 438

HIAWATHA

1. Hiawatha Spring, in a small ravine or draw on the east bank of the Rock River, north of Riverside park, which is about a mile and a half north of Janesville, Rock County.
2. Hiawatha Park, on Rice Lake, Barron County.
3. Hiawatha Heights, near Menomonee Falls, Waukesha County.
4. Hiawatha Lake, Vilas County.

''Into the old (Ojibway) Indian tradition of Hiawatha, who was known to half a dozen tribes by as many names, the poet (Longfellow) wove the Indian legends mostly written by Schoolcraft.'' Barnham, 1930, p. 46

''Hiawatha (he-a-wa-tha), the Wise Man, the teacher.''

Glossary, "Song of Hiawatha"

HO-BO-SA-CHE-NUG-RA

1. Ho-bo-sa-che-nug-ra, on the east bank of the Rock River, about two miles north of Beloit, Rock County.

''At this place was located the early Winnebago Indian village of 'Standing Post.' Its Winnebago name is given as **Ho-bo-sa-che-nug-ra.**'' Brown and Brown, 1929, pp. 80-81

HOCHUNGARA

1. Hochungara, now Horicon, Dodge County.

"Capt. T. J. Cram's 'Map of Wiskonsin Territory, 1839,' shows an east-west trail leading from 'Hochungara' (Horicon) on the Rock River." Brown, 1922, p. 7

HONONEGAH

1. Hononegah Park, near Rockton, Rock County.
2. Hononegah Mound Group, Rock County.

HOONGE-NEE-SHUN-ICK

1. Hoonge-nee-shun-ick, now Bear Creek, town in Sauk County.
2. Hoonege-nee-shun-ick, now Bear Creek, in Sauk County.

"The Winnebago word for Bear Creek is **Hoonge-nee-shun-ick**. The town and stream in southwestern Sauk county as so-called on account of the prevalence of bears in that vicinity in the early days." Cole, 1912, pp. 20-21

HORICON

1. Horicon, city in Dodge County.
2. Horicon Marsh, Dodge County.

"Horicon,—an Indian word meaning 'clear water' was selected as an appropriate name for this pioneer village."
Kelly, 1932, p. 1037

"Wm. Larrabee, one of the earlier Horicon residents, named it Lake Horicon after the lake in the state of his nativity, New York, and after the Horicon Indians, who once lived on its shores. Horicon means 'clear or pure water' in Horicon Indian tongue, and Ruttenber, in 'Tribes of the Hudson River, 1872,' (page 41), says of these Indians that they were a part of the Mohican or Mahican group." Erdman, 1937, p. 56

HO-RU-TCHKA-CH

1. Ho-ru-tchka-ch, now the present settlement of Indian Ford, Jefferson County.

"For this place the Winnebago had the name of **Ho-ru-tchka-ch**, or 'stream crossing.' At this Winnebago settlement there was an Indian crossing, or ford, of the Rock River."
Brown and Brown, 1929, pp. 11,39

HOSHARACATAH

1. Hosharacatah, now Fox, Lake in Dodge County.

"Fox Lake. The Meskwaki (Prairie Potawatomi) word for the lake was **Hosharacatah,**' meaning fox.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 256

"The Indian name of the lake, '**Hosh-a-rac-ah-tah,**' was corrupted into the more euphonius word 'Waushara,' which really means 'fish-spear; and by the latter name the postoffice of Fox Lake was known until 1850."

Brown and Drexel, 1921, p. 114

HO-WICH-RA

1. Ho-wich-ra, now the Catfish, or Yahara, River, Dane County.

"Its (the Catfish, or Yahara River) Winnebago Indian name was **Ho-wich-ra,** 'catfish.' " Brown and Brown, 1929, p. 8

HOWINCH

1. Howinch, an old Winnebago village site at the mouth of the Catfish, or Yahara River, where it empties into the Rock River, Rock County.

"At the mouth of the Catfish or Yahara River was located the Winnebago Indian village known as 'Catfish Village.' The Winnebago occupied this site for at least a hundred years before the first white settlers arrived in this region. The Winnebago name, or one of their names, for the site was **Howinch,** —'catfish.' "

Brown and Brown, 1929, pp. 44-45

HURON

1. Huron, town in Chippewa County.
2. Huron Lake, Waushara County.

"Huron ('bristly, rough haired.') A confederation of Iroquoian tribes which occupied a limited territory around Georgian Bay, Ontario." Hodge, 1907, v. 1, p. 584

"Huron. 'Bristly,' from the name applied to a branch of the Iroquois." Smith, 1930, p. 256

IMOGONE

1. Imogone Lake, Vilas County.

ININANDAGO-SAGAIGAN

1. Ininandago-Sagaigan, now Balsam Lake, Polk County.

"Balsam Lake, in Chippewa, is **Ininandago-Sagaigan,** from '**ininandag**' (balsam), and '**sagaigan**' (inland lake)."

File of Geog. Names

IOWA

1. Iowa County.

"Iowa ('sleepy ones'). One of the southern Siouan tribes. Traditional and linguistic evidence proves that the Iowa sprang up from the Winnebago stem. Iowa chiefs informed Dorsey, in 1833, that their people 'once formed part of the Winnebago nation.'" Hodge, 1907

"The name of another Indian tribe, Ah-hee-oo-ba, is perpetuated in Iowa. The name meant 'Sleepy Ones' or 'Drowsy Ones,' and this probably goes far toward explaining why this tribe was nearly exterminated by the Sioux. Its members lived in the valley of the state's principal river, to which they gave their name and after which, in turn, the state was named." Lawrence, 1920, p. 129

"Iowa. Named for the Iowa tribe of Indians, and meaning 'sleepy, or drowsy ones,' from the Siouan word '**aiaouez.**'" Smith, 1930, p. 256

ITASCA

1. Itasca, town in Douglas County.

"Itasca. Coined by Schoolcraft from the Ojibwe word '**totosha,**' meaning 'woman's breast.'" Smith, 1930, p. 256

JABOMINI-SIBI

1. Jabomini-Sibi, now the Gooseberry River.

"Jabomini-Sibi. From '**jabomini**' (gooseberry), and '**sibi**' (river)." File of Geog. Names

JEBAIESA SUPET

1. Jebaiesa Supet, the Menomini name for a group of Indian mounds on the east bank of the Wolf River, a few miles above Big Eddy Falls, on the Menomini Indian Reservation, in Shawano and Oconto counties.

"In 1919, Dr. S. A. Barrett and the writer investigated a

group of mounds on the east bank of the Wolf River, near a spot called 'Five Islands' by the whites, and **Jebaiesa-supet,** or 'where the little corpse lies,' by the Indians.''

Skinner, 1921, p. 65

JOE-SAHBE

1. Joe-Sahbe Bay, now Ellison Bay, Door County.

''Ellison Bay was known as Joe-Sahbe Bay. Sahbe was a son of Neatoshingh, also known as Mishicott.''

Schumacher, 1918, p. 144

JONIIA

1. Joniia, now Silver Lake, Waukesha County.

''Silver Lake—Joniia or Shooneah, 'silver.' ''

Brown, 1930, p. 40

KAGINOGUAMAUG

1. Kaginoguamaug Lake, now Lake Owen, Bayfield County.

''The modern Lake Owen was Kaginoguamig Lake, 'Long Water Lake.' '' Burnham, 1930, p. 104

KAH-GAH-BE-KONG SHAB-WA-WA-E-GUN SE-BE-ING

1. Kah-gah-be-kong Shah-wa-wa-e-gun Se-be-ing, now Sheboygan Falls, Sheboygan County.

''At the falls of the Sheboygan River, t he Indians (Potawatomi) had a village known as **Kah-gah-be-kong Shab-wa-wa-e-gun Se-be-ing,** or Sheboygan Falls Village.' ''

Gerend, 1920, p. 165

KAH-ISH-TO-ME-MIS

1. Kah-ish-to-me-mis, now Pilot Island, Door County.

''Pilot Island was called **Kah-ish-to-me-mis,** 'Sea Gull Island.' ''

Schumacher, 1918, p. 144

KAH-KAH-BE-GAH-SING

1. Kah-kah-be-gah-sing, a Potawatomi village in Sec. 8, Town of Kossuth, Manitowoc County.

''The Potawatomi village of Old Katose was in Section 8, town of Kossuth, where it had been located for two hundred years or more. The Potawatomi name for this village was **Kah-kah-be-gah-sing,** meaning 'small falls.' It was a large village.'' Lawson, 1920, p. 55

KAGAGIWANJIKAG

1. Kagagiwanjikag, now Hemlock Island, in the Wisconsin River, near Steven's Point, Portage County.

"Hemlock Island, in Chippewa, is **Kagagiwanjikag**, meaning 'place where there are hemlock trees."

File of Geog. Names

KAH-KAG-E-WINCH-E-MIN-IT-E-GONG

1. Kah-Kag-e-winch-e-min-it-e-gong, now Steven's Point, Portage County.

"Kah-kag-e-winch-e-min-it-e-gong, 'Hemlock Island,' name of the early Menomini Indian village at Steven's Point."

Emerson, 1933, p. 37

"Kahkagewinch-Eminitegong: Hemlock Island. This name is applied to Steven's Point on account of an island in the Wisconsin opposite to the village, covered with hemlock, which is a rare growth in that region." Calkins, 1903, p. 122

KAH-PUK-WI-E-KAH

1. Kah-puh-wi-e-kah, an Ojibwa campsite on Siskowitt Bay, in Lake Superior.

"The fine sand beach on the east side of Siskowitt Bay was a favorite camping ground of the Chippewa. Its Indian name was **Kak-puk-wi-e-kah.**" Burnham, 1930, p. 59

KAKAGON

1. Kakagon River, Ashland County.
2. Kakagon Sloughs, Ashland County.

"E. P. Wheeler states that **'kah-kah-gun** means the habitat of the wall-eyed pike.' The write has frequently asked intelligent men of Indian blood what Kagagon, the Indian name for the sloughs east of Ashland, means, but has never had much success in getting a solution. **Kagon** of **Kagun** meant a 'trap of stakes' and possibly nets, used in trapping sturgeon; that may help to explain the source of some other words."

Burnham, 1930, pp. 96-97; 352

"Kakagon Sloughs: (Ind., home of the wall-eyed pike)."

Wisconsin, 1941, p. 445

KAKAWANIKONE

1. Kakawanikone, a Menomini village site, now called Underhill, Oconto County.

"Kakawanikone, (crossing the portage), now Underhill. This was where the Menomini carried across to Lake Shawano."

Skinner, 1921, p. 385

KA-KWA-KISH-KA-KOG

1. Ka-kwa-kish-ka-kog Lake, later Vaseux (or Mud) Lake, now Spooner Lake, Washburn County.

"The Indian name of Spooner Lake was Ka-kwa-kish-ka-ka-kog, meaning a shallow, muddy lake." Curot, 1911, p. 467

KASHAWAGOS

1. Kashawagos Spring, in Devil's Lake State Park, Sauk County.

KASHKIGAMAG

1. Kashkigamag, now The Narrows, in Lake Geneva, Walworth County.

"The Narrows was designated as **Kashkigamag**, referring to 'a place where the shores come close together."

Brown and Brown, 1928, p. 199

KASOMO

1. Kasomo Lake, Vilas County.

KATAKITTEKON

1. Katakittekon Lake, now Lac Vieux Desert, Vilas County.

"The Wisconsin rises in the waters of Lac Vieux Desert. 'The country in the vicinity of this beautiful lake is called, in Chippewa language, Katakittekon,' writes Capt. T. J. Cram, 'and the lake bears the same name.' "

Derleth, 1942, pp. 36-37

"The term 'Vieux Desert' has often been mistranslated as 'Lake of the Desert, the old deserted place,' etc.. The term in Canadian-French means 'an old clearing,' and was translated in its turn of the Indian term **Gete Kitigan**—old land under cultivation."

Footnote by R. G. Thwaites to Malhiot's **Journal**, Wis. Hist. Collections, v. 19, p. 186

KAUBESHINE

1. Upper Kaubeshine Lake, Oneida County.
2. Lower Kaubeshine Lake, Oneida County.

KAUKAUNA

1. Kaukauna Township, Outgamie County.
2. Kaukauna, city in Outgamie County.
3. South Kaukauna, town in Outgamie County.

"Kaukauna. Corruption of **okakaning**, often shortened into **kakaning**, (pr. **kaukau-ning**)—place where they fish for pike, or pike fishing grounds." Verwyst, 1892, p. 392

"Okakane. Menomini for 'pike fishing place'. Kaukauna." Skinner, 1921, p. 387

"Kaukauna. Bureau of Ethnology describes it as a Menomini Indian word, **Agaq-kane**, meaning a place for pike.—Appleton **Post-Crescent**, Oct. 3, 1937." File of Geog. Names

"Kaukauna. 'Portage' or 'long portage' or 'place where pickerel are caught,' or 'place for pike.' Ojibwe word,—**okakaning**. Also 'Crow nesting place,' from Menomini Indian." Smith, 1930, p. 256

KAUNEWINNE

1. Kaunewinne River, now Yellow River, Wood and Juneau Counties.

"The Chippewa name for Yellow River is **Kaunewinne**, or Buck Horn River." Kingston, 1908, p. 396

KAWASIDJIWONG

1. Kawasidjiwong, now Montreal River, Iron County.

"The Indian name of the Montreal River seems to have been **Kawasidjiwong**."

Footnote by R. G. Thwaites to Malhiots **Journal**, Wis. Hist. **Collections**, v. 19, p. 177

KAY-CHUNK-ER-RAH

1. Kay-chunk-er-rah, now Delavan, Lake, Walworth County.

"The Winnebago called Delavan Lake **Kay-chunk-er-rah**, meaning 'turtle,' and its outlet by the same name."

Brown, 1926, p. 11

KE-CHE-KISH-KE-KING SHAB-WA-WA-I-GAN-ING SEBE

1. Ke-che-kish-ke-king Shab-wa-wa-i-gan-ing Sebe, now Sheboygan Marsh, Sheboygan County.

"The Potawatomi name for the Sheboygan Marsh was ke-che-kish-ke-king (marsh) Shab-wa-wa-i-gan-ing (Sheboygan) Sebe (river), or marsh of the Sheboygan River."

Gerend, 1920, p. 167
Schumacher, 1918, p. 144

KE-CHE MAH-NE-DO

1. Ke-che Mah-ne-do, now Chambers Island, Door County.

"Chamber's Island was **Ke-che Mah-ne-do.**"

Schumacher, 1918, p. 144

(Although Mr. Schumacher does not give any meaning for **Ke-che Mah-ne-do,** it is certain that it is the Potawatomi version of the Ojibwe **Gitche-Manitou,**—the 'Great Spirit.'—H. W. K.)

Publius V. Lawson in his paper on The Potawatomi (Lawson, 1920, p. 48), like J. P. Schumacher, gives the Potawatomi name of Chambers Island as **Ke-che Mah-ne-do**; but he erroneously attributes this to mean "God made Cherry Island."—H. W. K.

KECHEWAISHKE

1. Kechewaishke Lake, Oneida County.

KE-CHE-WAU-BUSH-CO-KING

1. Ke-che-wau-bush-co-king, now Smith's Point, on the Horicon Marsh, Dodge County.

"Potawatomi village (**Ke-che-wau-bush-co-king**) was located on Smith's Point, on the Horicon Marsh, nine miles south of Oakfield." Brown, 1925, p. 43

KE-CHUNK-NEE-SHUN-NUK-RA

1. Ke-chunk-nee-shun-nuk-ra, now Turtle Creek, in Walworth and Rock Counties.

"Turtle Creek, which the Winnebago called **Ke-chunk-nee-shun-nuk-ra.** (Kechunk, kichunk,—turtle)."

Jipson, 1923, p. 128

KEEGO

1. Keego Lake, Vilas County.

KEESUS

1. Lake Keesus, Waukesha County.

"Keesus, from **Kisobsis**, 'sun lake.' "

Lacher, 1932, p. 851

"Keesus—from **kiso'bis**, '**Sun Lake.**' Potawatomi). **Kis-sus** is 'Sun.' "

Skinner, 1926, p. 399

"Keesus—**Kisobis**, 'sun lake.' "

Brown, 1950, p. 40

"Keesus, **Kisobis**, Sun Lake."

Forsbeck, 1936, p. 101

KEGONSA

1. Kegonsa, town in Dane County.
2. Lake Kegonsa, Dane County.

"Kegonsa. Corruption of **Gigosensag**, (lake of small fishes,' pr. **gee-go-sen-saug**. **Gigo** is fish; **gigosens**, a small fish; **gigosensag**, small fishes." Verwyst, 1892, p. 392

"Kegonsa is a Chippewa name, being a corrupt form of **gigos senag**, meaning 'little fishes,' according to the Rev. E. P. Wheeler." Brown, 1922, p. 122

"Kegonsa, the Algonkian name given to the lake by Dr. Lyman C. Draper in 1855, is said to be a corrupt form of **gigo agassinad**, meaning a 'small fish.'" McLachlan, 1925, p. 183

"Kegonsa, from **Kigonsas**, Potawatomi for a little fish.' "

Skinner, 1926, p. 399

"Kegonsa. 'Lake of small fishes.' From Ojibwe word **gigosenag**: 'lake of small fishes.' " Smith, 1930, p. 257

Kegonsa. For the name Kegonsa we turn to Lyman C. Draper's account: 'As no special Indian names were known for First and Second Lakes, it was deemed advisable to select appropriate designations. First Lake, as the outlet of the others, was regarded as good fishing ground; so it was concluded to call it Fish Lake. Kegonsa was found to have that meaning." Cassidy, 1945, pp. 19-20

"In Chippewa, **Kigonsee** is the name for fish in general."
Butler, 1888, p. 67

KEKEGAMA

1. Kekegama Lake, Washburn County.

KEKOSKEE

1. Kekoskee, town in Dodge County.

"The Winnebago village of Kekoskee was located on the east branch of the Rock River, at what is now Kekosee, in 1848 and 1849. —Reported by J. L. B. Thomas."
Brown, 1912, p. 173

KENABEE

1. Kenabee Lake, Lake County.

KE-NAGO-MAK-NEBIS

1. Ke-nago-mak-nebis, now Williams Bay of Lake Geneva, Walworth County.

"The Potawatomi Indian name for Williams Bay was **Ke-nago-mak-nebis**, or 'eel water.' Eeels were formerly caught here by them. They were speared in the lake shallows."
Brown and Brown, 1928, p. 199

KENATAO

1. Kenatao, the Menomini name for the Door County peninsula.

"Kenatao ('cape'), the Door Peninsula."
Skinner, 1921, p. 386

KENOSHA

1. Kenosha County.
2. Kenosha, city in Kenosha County.
3. Kenosha Creek, Kenosha County.

"Pike Creek, now the city of Kenosha. **Kenosha** was the Indian name for 'pike,' and **ce-pee**, or **se-pee**, is the common aboriginal designation for 'creek or river,' hence, Pike Creek.
Mygatt, 1857, p. 408, 414

"Kenosha. Baraga gives it as kinoje (pickerel or pike). Doubtless they were plentiful in the waters there."
Verwyst, 1892, p. 392

"Kenozha, (Ojibwe), the pickerel" Skinner, 1926, p. 399

"Kenosha, from **Kinosha**, Potawatomi for 'a pickerel.' "

"Kenosha. 'muskalonge.' Ojibwe word — **kinoje.** Their word agrees with the Potatomi word, as does their word for pike,—**oga.** Other authorities say the Ojibwe word and the Potawatomi word means 'fish, or pike, or pickerel, or place where wish are plentiful." Smith, 1930, p. 257

"On Pearl Street (in Kenosha) was located the Kenosha Ceepee House, (a hotel),—in plain English, the Pike Creek House, **Kenosha** being Indian for Pike, and **Ceepee** meaning Creek." Gregory, 1932, p. 536

KENOZHAKUM

1. Kenozhakum Spring, in Milwaukee County.

"From **kenozha,** Ojibwe for 'pickerel.' "—H. W. K. Brown, 1938, p. 85

KESHEDAHGEBING

1. Keshedahgebing, a Potawatomi village on the East Twin River, near Mishicott, in Manitowoc County.

"There was a Potawatomie village located on the west bank of the East Twin River, opposite a big spring on the east bank. The name of this village was **Keshedahgebing,** Big Spring Village." Lawson, 1920, p. 55

KE-SHE-GE-KI-AH-KE-TAH-KE-WUN

1. Ke-she-ge-ki-ah-ke-tah-ke-wun, now Cedar Point, on east shore of Williams Bay, in Lake Geneva, Walworth County.

"Their name for Cedar Point is **Ke-she-ge-ki-ah-ke-tah-ke-wun,** meaning 'cedar hill or cedar ridge.' " Brown and Brown, 1928, p. 152

KESHENA

1. Keshena, town in Shawano County.
2. Keshena Falls, in Wolf River, Shawano County.
3. Keshena Lake, Shawano County.

"The Indian village of Keshena and this waterfall take their name from **Keshi'ne,** who was born about 1830, and succeeded **Shun'ien** (Silver) as chief of the Menominee. The name **Keshi'ne** signifies 'the swift flying,' and originated in a dream of his father, who, in a vision, thought he saw the air filled with

eagles and hawks. These were representations of the Thunder phratry, and were flying swiftly by."

14 Ann. Report, Am. Bureau of Eth., p. 59

"**Keshniuw** (swiftly flying), Keshena; named for a former chief." Skinner, 1921, p. 389

"Keshena. 'Swift flying' or 'eagle.' Named from Menomini chieftain." Smith, 1930, p. 257

KESKA KWUTINO

1. Keska kwutino, a rock ledge believed to be near Chilton, Calumet County.

"Keska kwutino ('lake bluff'), a rock ledge opposite Oshkosh City, perhaps at Chilton. A sacred spot in Menomini mythology, because here the Thunderbirds, who became the ancestors of that clan, alighted and turned into men."

Skinner, 1921, p. 387

KEWASKUM

1. Kewaskum Township, Washington County.
2. Kewaskum, town in Washington County.

"Kewaskum. Either from **washkamo** (the road is crooked), pr. **wash-cum-o**; from **giwaskam** (his tracks are toward home), pr. **kee-wai-skum**; **giwe**, means he goes home."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 392

"The city of Kewaskum was named for the Potawatomi chief of that name. The Indian rendering of the name is **Gee-way-skum**, his tracks are homeward."

Lawson, 1920, p. 57

"Kewaskum. From **Kiwaskum**, Potawatomi for 'turning back on his tracks.'" Skinner, 1926, p. 399

"Kewaskum. 'returning track' or 'going back' or 'going on back track' or 'retracing his footsteps.' The name of a Potawatomi chief who lived there in 1850."

Smith, 1930, p. 257

"Kewaskum. From Gee-way-skum, his tracks are homeward—Wheeler." File of Geog. Names

"The only places in Washington County which have adopted an Indian name are the township and village of Kewaskum. This was the name of a noble chief of the Potawatomi, who with his community lived near the village so-called at the present day. The name of Kewaskum is explained as meaning 'the turner,' or 'a man able to turn fate whichsoever way he pleases." Quickert, 1932, p. 1089

KEWAQUESAGA

1. Kewaquesaga Lake, Oneida County.

"Kewaquesaga. 'The third daughter. A Winnebago word." Smith, 1930, p. 257

"Kewaquesaga Lake. Its real name was **Be-wa-que-do-sa-ga-egun**, the first part of which means 'whittlings, or shavings,' and the second part (**sa-ga-egun**) means 'lake.'—**Minocqua Times**, in Land O'Lakes **Journal**, Oct. 1827, on authority of Mrs. Ben Gauthier." File of Geog. Names

KEWAYKWODO

1. Kewaykwodo Portage, on the Wisconsin River.

Derleth, 1942, p. 40

KEWAUNEE

1. Kewaunee County.
2. Kewaunee Township, Kewaunee County.
3. Kewaunee, city in Kewaunee County.
4. Kewaunee River, Kewaunee County.

"Kewaunee. Corruption of **kakiweonan** (I cross a point of land by boat), pr. **kah kee wae-o-nan.** Such a point of land is the peninsula between Green Bay and Lake Michigan, which is almost cut through by Sturgeon Bay."

Verwyst, 2892, p. 392

"Ke-wau-nee, on Lake Michigan, signifies 'Prairie Hen.' Kewaunee is doubtless a Chippeway word; accent on second syllable." Hathaway, 1903, p. 117

"Kewaunee. From **Kiwani**, Potawatomi for a 'prairie-chicken.'" Skinner, 1926, p. 399

"Kewaunee. 'Prairie hen' or 'wild duck' or 'to go around,'

Ojibwe word. 'I cross a point of land by boat,' from Ojibwe word **kakiweonan.** 'Point of land' means a peninsula, as at Sturgeon Bay.'' Smith, 1930, p. 257

''Kewaunee (Ind., prairie hen).'' Wisconsin, 1941, p. 318

''Kewaunee is a corrupted form of **kakiweonan,** where people traverse a point of land in a canoe or boat, here being a water passage.'' File of Geog. Names

KEWEENAWAN

1. Keweenawan Range, northern Wisconsin. St. Croix Falls, in Polk County, Superior, in Douglas County, and Ashland, in Ashland County, are on or near outcrops of this pre-Cambrian geological formation.
2. Keweenawan Trap Ledge.

KI-CHUNCK

1. Ki-chunck, former Winnebago village on the present site of Beloit, Rock County.

''The present site of the city of Beloit was the early site of a large and important Winnebago Indian village, being the largest of the historic Winnebago villages along the Rock River between the Illinois-Wisconsin boundary and the foot of Lake Koshkonong. The early Winnebago name for this village was **Ki-chunck, 'Turtle.'** ''

Brown and Brown, 1929, p. 87

KI-CHUNK-NE-SHUN-NUCK-ER-RAH

1. Ki-chunk-ne-shun-nuck-er-rah, now Turtle Creek, Rock County.

''The Winnebago name for Turtle Crek was **Ki-chunk-ne-shun-nuck-er-rah.**'' Brown and Brown, 1929, p. 87

KI-CHUNK-OCH-HEP-ER-RAH

1. Ki-chunk-och-hep-er-rah Lake, now Wingra, Dane County.

''The Winnebago who camped on its shores from the earliest times, are said to have called Lake Wingra **Ki-chunk-och-hep-er-rah,** meaning 'the place where the turtle emerges,' a name given it no doubt because of the large number of mud and

snapping turtles, which are even today numerous denizens of its waters." Brown, 1915, p. 78

KICKAPOO

1. Kickapoo Township, Vernon County.
2. Kickapoo Center, town in Vernon County.
3. Kickapoo Valley.
4. Kickapoo River, Vernon County.
5. Little Kickapoo Creek, Crawford County.

"Kickapoo. Named for the Kickapoo tribe formerly living in Wisconsin; means 'he stands out,' (now here, now there)." Smith, 1930, p. 257

KINNICKINNIC

KINNIKINNIC

1. Kinnickinnic River, Milwaukee County
2. Kinnickinnic, town in Pierce County.
3. Kinnikinnic Township, St. Croix County.
4. Kinnikinnic River, Pierce and St. Croix Counties.

"Kinnikinnic. Potawatomi word used to refer to ceremonial tobacco of toasted willow or sumac bark." Smith, 1930, p. 257

"The substance generally employed for smoking (by the Wisconsin Indians) was the green portion of the bark of the young red ozier, cornel, or dogwood, which when prepared they called 'Kinnikinik.' " West, 1911, p. 5

KINOJE

1. Kinoje, or Pike River, a tributary of the Menominee River, Marinette County.

"According to the late Potawatomi chief, Simon Kahquados, this river (the Kinoje) is named after the manido, Kinoje, the Pike, a water deity." Brown, 1938, p. 115

KIPIKAWI

1. Kipikawi River, now the Root River, Racine County.

"Because the Root River was choked with snags and roots, the Indians called it **Kipikawi,** or **Chippicotton,** meaning 'root.' The French later called it 'Racine,' meaning the same." Wisconsin, 1941, p. 275

KIPISAKIA

1. Kipisakia, a Menomini village at the present site of Prairie du Chien, Crawford County.

"Kipisakia, 'River Mouth,' at Prairie du Chien."

Skinner, 1921, p. 381

KIPU'AKUNAN

1. Kip'akunan, Menomini village at the present site of De Pere, Brown County.

"Kipu'akunan, De Pere. The meaning of the name is lost."

Skinner, 1921, p. 387

KISH-KE-KWAN-TE-NO
KISHKAKWUTINO

"Kish-ke-kwan-te-no, supposed to mean, in the Menomini tongue, 'sloping to the cedars;' in the rear of the cliff is a cedar swamp.' "

Stambaugh, 1900, p. 425

". . . in the neighborhood of Lake Bluff, (Kiskakwutino), the place being found in Menomini mythology as the place where the Thunderbirds dropped out of the sky and, assuming human guise, became the ancestors of that gens of the tribe."

Skinner, 1921, p. 43

KISHWAUKETOE

1. Kishwauketoe Lake, now Lake Geneva, Walworth County.

"Lake Geneva (**Kishwauketoe**—'clear lake')"

Brown, 1925, p. 123

"The Potawatomi Indian name of Lake Geneva, and by which it has long been known, is given as **'Kishwauketoe,'** a name said to mean 'clear water.'

"There is a question concerning this name and its significance. Prof. Edward Sapir, of the University of Chicago, states that Prof. L. Bloofield, who is a specialist in Algonkin linguistics, is unable to explain it.

"Mr. Daniel Shepard, of Arpin, Wis., of Potawatomi ancestry, states that **'Kish-wauke'** is a Potawatomi name for a sycamore tree. **'Kish-wauk-ctoe'** may be construed as 'an old sycamore tree.' "

Brown and Brown, 1926, pp. 198-199

KITCHI GAMI

1. Lake Kitchi Gami, now Lake Superior, part of northern border of Wisconsin.

"The Naming of Lake Superior. The Chippewas called it **Kitchi-Gami**, or, as Longfellow spelled it, **Gitche Gumee**, meaning 'Big Sea Water.'" Burnham, 1930, p. 46

"The Chippewas gave the name **Kitchigami** (pr. **Kee-chee-gau-mee**) to Lake Superior; probably a corruption of **michigami**, 'a large body of water.'" Verwyst, 1892, p. 393

"Lake Superiar. Ojibwe word for this lake was **kitchigami**, meaning 'great lake.'" Smith, 1930, p. 258

"Gitche Gumee, the Big-Sea-Water, Lake Superior." Glossary, "Song of Hiawatha"

KITCHI-MASKIGI-MINIKANING

1. Kitchi-Maskigi-Minikaning, now Grantsburg, Burnett County.

"Kitchi-Maskigi-Minikaning is Chippewa for 'at the great cranberry place.'" File of Geog. Names

KITCHI-NAME-BINIKANI-SIBIWISHEN

1. Kitchi-Name-Binikani-Sibiwishen, now Bonos Creek, Ashland County.

"Kitchi-Name-Binikani-Sibiwisken, meaning (in Ojibwe) 'Large Sucker Creek.'" Verwyst, 1895, p. 432

KITCHI-PAGANAG

1. Kitchi-Paganag, now Butternut, town in Ashland County.

"Butternut, in Chippewa, is Kitchi-Paganag, large nuts or butternuts." File of Geog. Names

KITCHI-PAGANAGO-SAGAIGAN

1. Kitchi-Paganago-Sagaigan, now Butternut Lake, in Forest County.

"Butternut Lake, in Chippewa, is Kitchi-Paganago-Sagai-

gan, from '**Kitchi**' (big, large), '**pagan**' (a nut, a butternut), and '**sagaigan,' (inland lake).**''

File of Geog. Names

KITCHI-WANINITIGWEIAG

1. Kitchi-Waninitigweiag, now Big Bend on the Chippewa River.

''Big Bend, in Chippewa, is **Kitchi-Waninitigweiag,** 'where the river makes a big bend,' from '**kitchi**' (big, large), and **waninitigweia-sibi** (the river makes a bend.)''

File of Geog. Names

KONAJEWUN

1. Konajewun Falls, now Grandfather Bull Falls, on the Wisconsin River.

''The Grandfather Bull Falls, which are the largest on the Wisconsin, are called by the Indians **Ko-na-jepwun,** which signifies 'the Long Falls.' These falls are two miles in length.''

Hawkins, 1903, pp. 120-121

KONEMESHIA

1. Konemeshia, now known as The Rapids at Little Chute, Outgamie County.

''Konemeshia (dodge water'), the Menomini name for the rapids at Little Chute.'' Fox, 1916, p. 3

KONIN

1. Konin, a plain just below the Oconto Falls, Oconto County.

''Konin ('where the tornado passed'), a plain just below the Oconto Falls. There is said to be an ancient Menomini village site there.'' Skinner, 1921, p. 385

KONONGOMONG

1. Konongomong, now Long Lake, Racine County.

''Long Lake (Konongomong.)'' Brown, 1923, p. 108

''Long Lake is shown on a map of the Muskego settlement in the 1840's as Kee-nong-ga-mong Lake. No meaning of the name is given.'' Ronning, 1943, p. 10

KORO

1. Koro, town in Winnebago County.

KOSHKONONG

1. Koshkonong Township, Jefferson County.
2. Koshkonong, town in Jefferson County.
3. Lake Koshkonong, in Rock and Jefferson Counties.
4. Koshkonong Creek, Jefferson County.
5. Koshkonong Prairie, southeastern Dane County.

There have been numerous explanations of the name "koshkonong," but not until the excellent study on "Koshkonong, a Misunderstood Place-Name," by Dr. Frederic G. Cassidy, faculty member of the University of Wisconsin, has anything so analytical and convincing been proferred. Hence we quote the more pertinent portions of his paper, which appeared in the **Wisconsin Magazine of History:**

"It is rather surprising that there is so much uncertainty about the origin and meaning of the name 'Koshkonong.' Several guesses have been made—some of which are amusingly fantastic—and one explanation has gained considerable currency, but nobody appears to have gone into the matter in more than a passing way. The explanation offered here . . . should at least serve to clear away former inacceptable explanations.

"Previous attempts have been mostly of the type in which somebody, having noticed a similarity between 'Koshgonong' and some Indian word, assumes that they must be related. The fact the two are not exactly alike appears to cause no qualms. Similarity may easily be converted into identity—in fact, it is part of the bame to ignore inconvenient differences. Here are some of the explanations of this kind which have been given for the name 'Koshkonong':

'Probably a corruption of **gwaskwaning** (jumping), **pr. gwash-kwau-ning.** Some Indians pronounce the syllable **wa** like **o**, so they might have pronounced the word **goshkoning.**' —(Verwyst, 1892, p. 192).

'Probably refers to **koshkosh**,—a hog.'—(Anon., in File of Geog. Names).

By Potawatomi interpretation, What he kept for himself.'—Milwaukee **Journal**, Feb. 21, 1932.

"One other attempt, though it shows much better knowledge of language, still distorts the word so as to make the explanation fit:

'The Algonquin terminals indicating the place where, or region of, are **ang, eng, ing, ong, ung.** And this terminal found in the word Koshkonong shows that it is Algonquin and not Winnebago. If the syllable **Koshk** is changed to **Ki-ashk** the word would then be Ki-ashken-ong, meaning the place of gulls. Here must have been a large lake or marsh frequented by gulls from earliest times, of sufficient importance to warrant a name, and this long before the advent of the white men.'—(W. H. Wheeler, 1921).

"The trouble with this kind of etymologyzing is that even if some of the authors were writing with tongue in cheek, all treat words as if they might change their forms at any time without making much difference in the meaning. They leave out of account the laws of language, and sometimes they do not even attempt to show any appropriateness of meaning in their guesses. Because of these distortions, such explanations cannot be accepted.

"The explanation most widely accepted today is that Koshkonong means 'the lake we live on.' This comes ultimately from an article by Joshua Hathaway, written in 1849 and published in the first volume of the Wisconsin Historical Society's **Collections**:

'Kosh-ko-nong, or more propertly, Kosh-kaw-a-nong, (third syllable unaccented), signifying the lake we live on.'

"'As the earliest attempt at an explanation this deserves attention, but unfortunately, Koshkonong cannot be so translated. Hathaway has evidently been misled. If we examine the probable source of his information, the early maps, his error becomes clear and it is an understandable one. Apparently he jumped to a conclusion which the maps seemed to justify.

"The earliest map known to include the present Lake Koshkonong is John Farmer's Map of the Territories of Michigan and Ouisconsin, 1830. This map, though it shows the lake, does not name it, but labels it with the phrase 'the L. we live on.' The next map (Tanner's, 1833), evidently based on Farmer's, alters this label slightly, but perhaps significantly, to 'L. we-live-on.' The omission of the 'the' and the hyphenation of 'we-live-on' do make the label look more like a name, and knowing that the lake was called 'koshkonong' (for records of this go back to 1820), simply put the two together and assumed that the phrase was a translation of the Indian word. Once printed in an authoritative publication this explanation gained currency, to which the county histories added, and today, though wrong, it has become virtually established by repetition.

"It has been pointed out so far that none of the former explanations of 'Koshkonong' can be accepted. Many are fantastic, and even the most widely accepted apparently arose from an error in reading a map. However, our evidence shows that the name was known to the whites before 1820, and that it was applied first to a Winnebago village and thence to the lake on which the village was. From the early spellings it has been shown to be clearly an Algonquian word, represented in an least three languages of this family, and adopted ultimately in the Ojibwa form by the whites; thus it cannot have been the Winnebago's name for their village any more than 'Winnebago' is their name for themselves.

"Analyzing the Ojibwa form **kackawanung (pronounced** kash-ka-wa-nung) we get: **kack**—shut in, close in; **-awan**—fog; **ung**—place, the whole phrase meaning 'where there is heavy fog,' 'where it is closed in by fog,' or 'a sheltered place beind a windbreak (where the fog might remain).' This would certainly suit the region of Lake Koshkonong, and specifically a spot chosen for a village beside the lake. As the Indians were displaced, the name remained on the lake and creek, rather than the village, and from the creek it was extended to the prairie through which it flowed."

Cassidy, 1948, pp. 429-440

LACKAWANNA

1. Lackawanna Lake, Oconto County.

"Lackawanna, from **leckauwanna,** in the Lenape (Delaware) dialect, signifying 'the stream forks'; from **leckau,** fork, and **-hanna,** stream, river." Hodge, 1907, p. 751

LE-MO-WEE

1. Le-mo-wee,—the River of Memory."

McBride, 1857, p. 501

LENAWEE

1. Lenawee, town in Bayfield County.
2. Lenawee Lake, Bayfield County.

LUBRA

1. Lubra, now Beaver, Lake, Waukesha County.

"The name, Labraugh, given by Lapham to Beaver Lake, may be a slight distortion of the Winnebago word **'lubra',** meaning Beaver. This was suggested by John Blackhawk."

Brown, 1930, p. 22

MACH-KI-NO-SIEW

1. Mach-ki-no-siew Lake, Langlade County.

MAC-KAY-SEE

1. Mac-kay-see Lake, on Chambers Island. Door County.

MA-GAH-DA-WAU-KAH-MIK
MA-KAH-DA-WAH-GAH-MIK

1. Ma-gah-da-wau-kah-mik now the Black River, Sheboygan County.

"The Black River was known by the Indians (Potawatomi) as Ma-gah-da-wau-kah-mik, or 'Black Water Creek.' "

Gerend, 1920, p. 152

"The Potawatomi name for Molasses Creek was Ma-ka-da-wah-gah-mik, Black Water Creek."

Lawson, 1920, p. 55

MA-GO-SHE-KAH-NING

1. Ma-go-she-kah-ning, an old Menomini and Ojibwa village at the present site of Fish Creek, Door County.

"The village at Fish Creek was a mixed Menominee and

Chippewa village. Its Indian name was **Ma-go-she-kah-ning,** meaning 'trout fishing.' " Schumacher, 1918, p. 144

MAKATE-KEKEK

1. Makate-Kekek, now Black Hawk, town in Sauk County.

"Black Hawk, in Ojibwa, is Makate-Kekek, black hawk, from **makate,** black, and **kekek,** a hawk."

File of Geog. Names

MAKATE-WAGAMI-KAKIBIKANG

1. Makate-Wagami-Kakibikang, now Black River Falls, Jackson County.

"Black River Falls, in Ojibwa, is Makate-Wagami-Kakibikang, 'black water falls,' from **makate** (black) **gami** (refers to water), and **kakibikang** (a waterfall). **Makatewagami** means 'the water is black.' " File of Geog. Names

MAKATE-WAGAMI-SIBI

1. Makate-Wagami-Sibi, now the Black River, in Jackson and Trempealeau Counties.

"Black River, in Ojibwa, is Makate-Wagami-Sibi (black water river), from **makate** (black, **gami** (refers to water), and **sibi** (river)." File of Geog. Names

MAH-KO-ME-NO-SHA

1. Mah-ko-me-no-sha, now Spider Island, Door County.

"Mah-ko-me-no-sha (Potawatomi), Spider Island."

Lawson, 1920, p. 48

MAH-KO-ME-NE-SHINE-MENIS

1. Mah-ko-me-ne-shine-menis, now Gravel Island, Door County.

"Gravel Island went by the name of Mah-ko-me-ne-shine-menis, or Bear Island. A Potawatomi Indian legend concerning this island gives the information that several hundred years ago a bear and her cub were seen swimming across the lake. The Indians on the shore beckoned them to come to the island, which they did. They were spirit animals, or manitous." Schumacher, 1918, p. 144

Publius V. Lawson, in his paper on the Potawatomi, repeats

the above legend, and adds: "Since then the Potawatomi called the (Gravel) island 'Old Bear Cub Island.' "

Lawson, 1920, p. 48

"Bear Island, in Ojibwa, is **Mako-miniss,** from **makwa (mako** when used in compound words) meaning bear, and **miniss,** island." File of Geog. Names

MA-KAH-DA-WAH-GAH-COK

1. Ma-kah-da-wah-gah-cok, a Potawatomi village on the East Twin River, north of Mishicott, Manitowoc County

"The Potawatomi village of Black Earth was located about eight miles north of the present village of Mishicott. The Potawatomi name for Black Earth Village was **Mah-kah-da-wah-gah-cok.**" Lawson, 1920, p. 55

MAKATEWAKI

1. Makatewaki, now Black Earth, town in Dane County.

"Black Earth, in Ojibwa, is Makatewaki, black earth, or black ground, from **makati** (black), and **aki** (earth or ground)." File of Geog. Names

MAKI

1. Maki Lake, Iron County.

MA-KIEG-OH-MON-NIP

1. Ma-kieg-oh-mon-nip Spring, in Shawano County.

"Mission Lake, also called Preachers Lake, is located on the Stockbridge Reservation. The lake was reddish or rusty in color. A boiling spring, the Red Spring, was on its shore. The Indian name given to the Red Spring is **Ma-kieg-oh-mon-nip,** 'red spring.' " Brown, 1938, p. 82

MAKIMITAS

1. **Makimitas, a Menomini site near Keshena,** Shawano County.

MAKODASSONAGANI-SIBI

1. Makodassonagani-Sibi, now Beartrap River, Ashland County.

"Makodassonagani-Sibi (Bear-trap River), which empties into the Kakagon River." Verwyst, 1895, p. 429

"Bear-trap River, in Ojibwa, is **Makodassonagani-Sibi,** from **makwa** (bear) which becomes **mago** when used in compound words; **dassonagan,** (trap), and **sibi,** (river)."

File of Geog. Names

MANAWA

1. Manawa, town in Waupaca County.

"Manawa—from either **minawa** (adverb meaning **again**); **manea** (it is scarce), pr. **mau-na-au**; or **manepwa** (he has no tobacco, or, scarce of tobacco), pr. **mau-naip-wau.**"

Verwyst, 1892, p. 392

"Manawa. 'He has no tobacco.' Menomini or Ojibwe word."

Smith, 1930, p. 258

MANATO-KIKEWE

1. Manato-Kikewe, a tributary stream of the Wisconsin River.

"Manato-kikewe, 'Stooping Spirit River,' Ojibwe word."

Smith, 1930, p. 258

"Man-na-to-kik-e-we Se-be,—Stooping Spirit River."

Cawkins, 1903, p. 120

MANISTE

1. Maniste River, a stream emptying into Lake Michigan, above Green Bay. Grignon, 1857, p. 239

MANITO-MINISS

1. Manito-Miniss, now Devil's Island, one of the Apostle Islands off Bayfield County in Lake Superior.

"Devil's Island, in Ojibwe, is Manito-Miniss, from **manito,** a spirit, not devil. The proper translation of the Ojibwa name would be Spirit Island." File of Geog. Names

MANITO-SAGAIGAN

1. Manito-Sagaigan, now Devil's Lake, on the Court Oreilles Reservation, Sawyer County.

"Manito-Sagaigan, is Ojibwa, from **manito,** meaning a spirit, and erroneously translated as a devil, and **sagaigan,** an inland lake." File of Geog. Names

MANITOU

1. Manitou Island, Lake Superior.

2. Big Manitou Falls, in Pattison State Park, Douglas County.
3. Little Manitou Falls, Douglas County.
4. Manitou Rock, Winnebago County.

"Manitou. As taken over from Alonquian into the vocabulary of the whiteman, it has signified spirit, good, bad, or indifferent; Indian god or devil, demon, guardian spirit, fetish, etc." Hodge, 1907, p. 800

"Big and Little Manitou Falls. Dedicated to the Great Spirit, Gitchee Manido. Falls of the Great Spirit."
Brown, 1938, p. 112

"**Manitou,** meaning a spirit, not devil."
File of Geog. Names

MANITOWISH

1. Manitowish, town in Iron County.
2. Manitowish River, Iron County.
3. Lake Manitowish, Vilas County.

"Manitowish. 'Evil spirit' or 'spirit lodge in the waters.' 'I am considered a spirit' or 'small animal,' Ojibwe meaning. Potawatomi meaning—'devilish.'" Smith, 1930, p. 258

"**Munedo-ish** means Devil, or Evil Spirit, in Ojibwa."
Brunson, 1903, p. 111

MANITOWOC

1. Manitowoc County.
2. Manitowoc Township, Manitowoc County.
3. Manitowoc, city in Manitowoc County.
4. Manitowoc Rapids Township, Manitowoc County.
5. Manitowoc Rapids, town in Manitowoc County.
6. Manitowoc River, Manitowoc County.
7. Manitowoc Swamp, extinct lake near Chilton.

"Manitou-wauk: the home or place of the spirits."
Witherell, 1857, p. 337

"Manitowoc. From **Manito'wuk,** Potawatomi for 'power of the spirit' or 'spirits.' Skinner, 1926, p. 399

"Manitowoc. Corruption of **manitowag,** (spirit spawn). Pagan Indians imagined that sprit spawned like fish."
Verwyst, 1892, p. 392

"Manitou-woc, or Devil's Den." Hathaway, 1903, p. 117

"Dr. W. J. Hoffman, in his Menominee-English glossary, published in the 14th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, gives the word Manitowoc as meaning 'much game.' This is evidently erroneous."

Falge, 1915, pp. 128-129

"Manitowoc, from the Ojibwa, should be **Munedoo**—a general name of **spirit.** The prefix or termination gives the kind of spirit intended. **Munedo-ish** means Devils, or Evil Spirit, in Ojibwa. **Owkesha-munedo** is God, or Good Spirit. **Woc** may be intended for **owk,** and **munito** may be intended for **munedoo,** and if so, **Munedo-owk,** alias Manitowoc, when applied to the Islands in Lake Michigan, or the river emptying into it, probably signifies the habitation of the Good Spirit. The perversion or corruption of the word may be from the imperfect understanding, or imperfect orthography of the white man of the Indian language; or it may have been derived from the Menimoni, or some other tribe of Indians, who use the word a little differently than the Ojibwa. I am not an Ojibwa scholar, but have the word of Peter Jones, a celebrated missionary, for whom I derive the above orthography of the word."

(In conjunction with the preceding, the editor Lyman C. Draper has a footnote: "Dr. Morse, in his report of his Indian Tour of 1820, speaks of 'an old Ottowa chief living at **Ma-nit-ou-wauk,**—the river of bad spirits.' "

Brunson, 1903, p. 111

MA-NO-MIN-A-KUNG-A-KUAY SEBE

1. Ma-no-min-a-kung-a-kuay Sebe, now Little Eau Pleine River, Marathon County.

"Ma-no-min-a-kung-a-kuay Sebe,—Rice Stalks River, now known as Little Eau Pleine River."

Hawkins, 1903, p. 120

MAQUA KOHNIC MAYPAYSAW

1. Maqua Kohnic Maypaysaw, now Mission of Preachers, Lake, Shawano County.

"Mission Lake, also called Preachers Lake, is located on the

Stockbridge Reservation. The lake has a redish or rusty color. The Indian name for the lake is Maqua Kohnick Maypaysaw, meaning 'red colored water lake.' This information was furnished by John V. Satterlee, in 1931."

Brown, 1938, p. 82

MARINUKA

1. Lake Marinuka, Trempealeau County.

"Grave of Indian princess, Marinuka, on Lake Marinuka."

Emerson, 1938, p. 109

MASH-KE-DA-SING

1. Mash-ke-da-sing, former Indian village in N. W. ¼ Sec. 28, Lyndon Township, just southeast of the village of Cascade, Sheboygan County.

"Near Cascade there was a large Indian village which was known as **Mash-ke-da-sing**, or Little Prairie."

Gerend, 1920, p. 180

MASHKEG-ZIBI

MASHKI-SIBI

1. Mashkeg-zibi, now the Bad River, Ashland County.

"Bad River, called Mashkeg-Zibi, or Marsh River."

Burnham, 1930, p. 398

"Mashki-Sibi (Swamp River, misnamed Bad River)."

Verwyst, 1895, p. 429

"Bad River, in Ojibwa, is **Maski-sibing** (at, to, or from swamp river), from **maskig**, (pr. muskeeg) swamp, and **sibi** (a river). The whites mistook the meaning of the Ojibwa word **maski** (swamp) and thought it was **matchi (bad)**. The Indians call it swamp river, because it flows through swampy land before it empties into Lake Superior."

File of Geog. Names

MASKIGIMINIKANING

1. Maskigiminikaning, now Cranberry Center.

"Cranberry Center, in Ojibwa, is Maskigiminikaning, 'place where cranberries grow,' from **maskikiminan** (cranberries, or swamp-berries; **maskig**, a swamp, and **minan**, berries."

File of Geog. Names

MASKIGIMINAN-SAGAIGAN

1. Maskigiminan-Sagaigan, now Cranberry Lake.

a. Douglas County.
b. Vilas County.
c. Price County.

"Maskigiminan-Sagaigan, is Ojibwa for Cranberry Lake, from **maskigiminan** (swamp berries, or cranberries) and **sagaigan** (inland lake)." File of Geog. Names

MASQUA WEGATIK

1. Masqua Wegatik, now Silver Creek.

"The Potawatomi name for Silver Creek was **Masqua Wegatik**, Red Sand Creek." Lawson, 1920, p. 55

MASSASAUGA

1. Massasauga, village site near Mazomanie, Dane County.

MATC WASAKIU

1. Matc Wasakiu, old Menomini village site now called Oconto Red Banks, Oconto County.

"Matc Wasakiu ('big high banks'), a locality on the Oconto River now called Oconto Red Banks."

Skinner, 1921, p. 385

MAUNESHA

1. Maunesha Creek, Dane County.

MAUNG-ZET NEBISS

1. Maung-zet Nebiss Lake, now Lake Geneva, Walworth County.

"Notable were the villages of bark and reed mat dome lodges on the shores of what they (the Potawatomi) knew as **Maung-zet Nebiss**, or Big-Foot Lake, from the popular name of the local chief Maung-zet, or Big Foot."

Jenkins, 1932, pp. 45-46

"Maunksuck (Big Foot)." Emerson, 1933, p. 56

MAUNK-SHAK-KAH

1. Maunk-shak-kah Village, now Horicon, Dodge County.

"The population of White Breast (Maunk-shak-kah, in Winnebago) was about 2,000. This village was on the east bank of Rock River where Horicon now stands."

Clark, 1880, p. 477
also Erdman, 1937, p. 55

MAZOMANIE

1. Mazomanie Township, Dane County.
2. Mazomanie, town in Dane County.

"Mazomanie. From **mosominan** (mooseberries) pr. **mo-zom-ee-nan.**" Verwyst, 1892, p. 393

"Mazomanie. 'Moose berries,' Ojibwe **'mosominum'** 'Moon berries.' " Smith, 1930, p. 258

MECAN

1. Mecan Township, Marquette County.
2. Mecan River, affluent of the Fox River.
3. Mecan-Princeton Canal.

Mecan. From **mikana,** Ojibwa for 'trail'.

MEDEMOYA SEEBE

1. Medemoya Seebe, old Potawatomi village at present site of Jacksonport, Door County.

"The site of the former native village at Jacksonport had been occupied by an Indian village for four hundred or more years. The native name for the locality was Medemoya Seebe, or 'Old Woman's Creek.' "

Schumacher, 1918, pp. 143-144

MEEME

MIMI

1. Meeme Township, Manitowoc County.
2. Meeme, town in Manitowoc County.
3. Mimi Island, one of the Apostle Islands, Ashland County.

"Meeme—means pigeon, or dove." Verwyst, 1892, p. 393

"Meeme. Pigeon. Ojibwa word 'Omini.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 258

"Meeme, signifying pigeon. Derived from the Ojibwa."

Falge, 1915, p. 128

"Pigeon. One of the Apostle Islands. Translation of the Ojibwe name of the island, **'mimi.'** " Smith, 1930, p. 262

MEMEE SEPEE

1. Memee Sepee, now the Pigeon River, Sheboygan County

"Pigeon River, a translation from the original Indian term

Me-mee see-pee. As the name signifies, wild pigeons were formerly very plentiful along this stream.''

Gerend, 1920, p. 151

MENAH

1. Menah, town in Washburn County.

MENASHA

1. Menasha Township, Winnebago County.
2. Menasha, city in Winnebago County.

''Minasi. Menomini for 'island.' Menasha.''

Skinner, 1921, p. 387

''Menasha. 'Thorn' or 'island.' Ojibwe word 'manashigan' means Bassfish, while Winnebago word **menasha** means 'wanes.' '' Smith, 1930, p. 258

MENDOTA

1. Mendota, town in Dane County.
2. Lake Mendota, Dane County.

''Mendota. From **Mantoka,** Potawatomi for 'Snake-maker.' '' Skinner, 1926, p. 399

''Mendota, meaning 'the mouth of a river.' ''

Upham, 1908, p. 125

''Mendota. Said to be from two Indian tongues meaning 'junction of trails' or 'much of a river.' ''

Smith, 1930, p. 258

''Mendota is from the Dakota name **mdo-te,** 'the outlet of a lake.' '' Brown, 1922, p. 122

''Stephen Riggs's **Dakota Dictionary** (Smithsonian Publications No. 40, Series S. C. IV, Ethnology VII, 1852) gives **mdo-te,** n.—the mouth or junction of one river with another; written **mendota:** the outlet of a lake.' ''

Cassidy, 1945, p. 16

''Mendota, which signifies the meeting of the waters.''

Lockwood, 1856, p. 195

(To the foregoing, Lyman C. Draper has a footnote: ''Some of the tribes of the North West give to Mendota the significance of large and great.'')

"Mendota. The primitive meaning of **mde** is probably water, for the two elements when combined often mean a confluence. Thus the meeting of the St. Peter's River with the Mississippi was called Mendota by the Dakotas."

Butler, 1885, p. 67

MENOMINEE

MENOMINIE
MENOMONEE
MENOMONIE

1. Menominee River, Marinette County.
2. Menominee Lake, Marquette County.
3. Upper Menominee Falls, Menominee River.
4. Lower Menominee Falls, Menominee River.
5. Menominee Rapids, Menominee River.
6. Menominee Indian Reservation, Shawano and Oconto Counties.
7. Menominie Bay, early Green Bay, Brown County.
8. Menominievilleville, early Greey Bay.
9. Menomonee Township, Waukesha County.
10. Menomonee Falls, town in Waukesha County.
12. Menomonee Creek, Grant County.
13. Menomonie Township, Dunn County.
14. Menomonie, city in Dunn County.
15. North Menomonie, town in Dunn County.
16. Menomonie Junction, town in Dunn County.
17. Menomonie Lake, Dunn County.
18. Menomonie River, Dunn County.
19. Menomonee River, Milwaukee County.

"Menominee. Corruption of **manoming,** or **oumanominig,** meaning wild-rice-people; **manomin** means wild rice, and **manominike,** he gathers wild rice."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 393

"Menominee. **Meno,** by change from **mino,** good, beneficient; **min,** a grain, a seed, the Chippewa name of the wild rice. —Hewitt. Full name **Menominiwok ininiwok,** the later term signifying 'they are men.' An Algonquian tribe."

Hodge, 1907, p. 842

"Menomonee is from **mih-no-min-ee seepe,** or Wild Rice Water. More properly, the term should be rendered simply 'rice,' as nothing was 'wild' with the Indians."

Waukesha, 1880, p. 381

MEQUON

1. Mequon Township, Ozaukee County.
2. Mequon, town in Ozaukee County.

"Mequon. From **Miquan** (a feather), pr. **mee-gwaun.**"

Verwyst, 1892, p. 393

"Mequon. 'feather' from Ojibwe word **mikwan** (feather). Ojibwe word **emikwan** means spoon. Others say it meant ladle, or feather, or 'bend in the river like a paddle.' "

Smith, 1930, pp. 258-259

MEROS-E-WINGIN

1. Meros-e-wingin, named by the French 'La Bataille,' and now called Fish Dam, on the Eau Claire River.

"About 15 miles below the mouth of the Eau Claire are the rapids, now called Fish Dam. There was in early days a battle at this place, and it was called by the Indians **Meros-e-wingin.**"

Curot, 1911, p. 408

MERRIMAC

1. Merrimac, town in Sauk County.

"Merrimac. Sturgeon, or swift water, Indian word, tribe unknown."

Smith, 1930, p. 259

ME-SHAH-WA-ODA-INK NE-BAIS
ME-SHAY-WA-O-DEY-NI-BIS

1. Me-shah-wa-oda-ink Ne-bais, now Elkhart Lake, Sheboygan County.

"The Potawatomi name for Elkhart Lake was Me-shah-wa-oda-ink Ne-bais."

Lawson, 1920, p. 116

"Me-shay-wa-o-dey-ni-bis, a word from the Potawatomi tongue, according to Dr. Alphonse Gerend."

Buchen, 1944, p. 2

ME-SHE-E-GAH-NING

1. Me-she-e-gah-ning, old Potawatomi village two miles south of the east end of the Sturgeon Bay canal, Door County.

"Me-she-e-gah-ning, meaning cleared land. This was a large village." Schumacher, 1918, p. 143

ME-SHE-NE-MAH-KE-MING

1. Me-she-ne-mah-ke-ming, now Washington Island, Door County.

"Washington Island was called **Me-she-ne-mah-ke-ming**, or Leader Island, probably because of its advanced position in the group of islands at the head of the Door County peninsula." Schumacher, 1908, p. 144

MESQUA-UNG-GUNG

1. Mesqua-ung-gung Bay, Red Sand Bay.

METABIKITIGIG-WEIAG-SIBIWISHEN

1. Metabikitigig-weiag-sibiwishen, now South Fork Creek, or Hazzard's Creek, Ashland County.

"South Fork Creek was called Metabikitigig-weiag-sibiwishen." Burnham, 1930, p. 402

"Metabikitigig-weiag-sibiwishen is the creek between Ashland and Ashland Junction, which runs into Fish Creek a short distance west of Ashland." Verwyst, 1895, p. 430

METOMEN

1. Metomen Township, Fond du Lac County.
2. Metomen, town in Fond du Lac County.

METONGA

1. Metonga Lake, Forest County.

MICHIGAN

1. Lake Michigan, eastern border of state.
2. Michigan Island, in Lake Superior, one of the Apostles.

"Michigan. Probably a corruption of **michigami**, a large body of water, pr. **mich-au-gau-mee.**" Verwyst, 1892, p. 393

"Baraga's **Chippewa Dictionary**, corroborated by several Michigan historians, shows that Lake Michigan had its origin in **Kitchigama**, or **Michigama**, meaning Big Lake. Mitchi-big. The terminal **gan**, or **goma**, or **gama**, according to Schoolcraft and other authorities, signifies a body of water; and prefix-

ing Kitchi or Michi to it, we have the idea of quantity or size; hence, Big Lake." Draper, 1909, p. 134

"The Indian's penchant for naming places after bodies of water is illustrated in the name of Michigan, which comes from an Algonquin word, **Mishigamaw**, meaning Big Lake, or Great Water." Lawrence, 1920, p. 129

"Michigan. 'Fence or catch deer,' an Ojibwe word describing fence set up near the lake. 'Great inland lake' or 'place for catching fish' from Ojibwe words **mitchaw sagaigan, Mitchaw** meaning great, and **sagaigan**, inland lake."
Smith, 1930, p. 258

MIJAN MEK

1. Mijan Mek, now the Catfish River, Dane County.

"Mejan Mek, a Winnebago word meaning 'Catfish' (Oliver Lemere). **Mah-nah-mak**, Potawatomi word meaning 'catfish.' "
File of Geog. Names

MIKANÀ

1. Mikana, town in Barron County.

Mikana is Ojibwa for "trail."

MILWAUKEE

1. Milwaukee County.
2. Milwaukee Township, Milwaukee County.
3. Milwaukee, city in Milwaukee County.
4. Milwaukee Bay, Lake Michigan.
5. Milwaukee River.

"Innumerable efforts have been made to trace the name Milwaukee to its source. Its naming remains in doubt. The Indian tribe that bestowed it in the first place may have been extinguished or driven away long before the first white men arrived.

"Like other Indian names, it has been subject in transmission to viccisitudes so various that those who were responsible for its bestowal might not recognize it in the modern guise. Indians and their half-French descendants who were on the ground when the early settlers arrived, disagreed as to the meaning of Milwaukee, and also as to its sound. According to one authority it meant 'great council place;' according to

another it was the name of a medicinal root. A third interpretation—and this was the most general—was that it came from **manawaukee**, the signification of which is 'good land.' ''

Gregory, 1932, p. 185

''Milwaukee is a corruption of **maunahwaukee** (a place of the gathering of multitudes).'' Vieau, 1900, p. 468

''The Indians have marked the land bordering on Manaywaukee River as being of superior quality by the name they have given the stream. 'Manaywaukee' signifies 'scarce good land.' Its interpretation into our language means 'the river of good land.' '' Stambaugh, 1900, p. 422

''Milwaukee, or Milouaqui, is derived from the Indian name of our own river, **Mahn-a-wau-kee seepe,** first and third syllables accented. The word is of Potawatomi origin, probably; the early French traders gave different significations to it, so that no one of them is reliable.'' Hathaway, 1903, p. 116

''Milwaukee. M. Goudin says it is from **miniaki** ('good land'). In Chippewa, the letter **n** is used instead of **l**, which letter is not in pure Chippewa words. Mr. Gurnoe derives Milwaukee from **minewaki** ('a promontory'), pr. **mee-nai-waukee.** Such a promontory does project into the river there, being known as Walker's Point.'' Verwyst, 1892, p. 393

''Mil-wau-kee:—pronounced by the Indians **me-ne-au-kee;** a rich or beautiful land.'' Witherell, 1857, p. 337

''Milwaukee. From **Mana'wa,** 'a suck-hole.' ''

Skinner, 1926, p. 399

''According to a statement dictated by several Sac and Fox chiefs, appended to Dr. Morses's report of his Indian tour in 1820, **Mil-wah-kie** was settled by the Sacs and Foxes, and the name is derived from **Man-na-wah-kie,** good land.''

Footnote by L. C. Draper to Gorrell, 1855, p. 35

''Name of Milwaukee. The early chronicles give a variety of pronunciations and spellings. The name means 'beautiful, or pleasant lands.' That it is of Indian origin is quite cer-

tain. Records show that at one time the name of the Indian hamlet was Mahn-a-waukie, and also Milwarck. Later it was changed to Milwaucki. Then came the white man's modification in the spelling. For many years the printed records gave the name as Milwaukie. Then one day during the thirties of the last century a newspaper calmly changed the name to Milwaukee, and Milwaukee it has remained until this day."

Bruce, 1936, pp. 15-16

"I must state what I know of Milwaukee. I was once told by an old Indian that its name was derived from a valuable aromatic root used by the natives for medicinal purposes. The name of the root was **man-wau; and hence man-a-wau-kee,** or the land or place of the **man-wau.** The Indians represented that it grew no where else, to their knowledge; and it was regarded as very valuable among them, and the Chippewa on Lake Superior would give a beaver skin for a piece as large as a man's finger. It was not used as a medicine, but was, for its fine aroma, put into almost all the medicines taken internally. I have also understood, though without placing so much confidence in it as in the other definition, that Milwaukee meant simply good land.'

Grignon, 1857, p. 290

"Augustin Grignon, in his Recollections, in Vol. III, State Historical publications, states, on the authority of an Indian, that the word Milwaukee is derived from a certain aromatic root, called **Man-wau;** hence, Man-a-wau-kee, the land, or place of the Man-wau. Also that it is simply pleasant land, or good land. The latter definition is also given by Louis Moran, a French resident and interpreter for the Chippewas. I have therefore come to the conclusion that this definition is the correct one.

"Note: By reference to the Green Bay **Intelligencer,** of Aug. 11, 1834, it will be found that all the old maps, as far back as 1820, mention the south branch of the Milwaukee river (the present Menomonee), as the May-nay-wau-kee."

Buck, 1876, pp. 9, 11-12

"Milwaukee. 'Good earth' or 'good country' or 'good

land.' Name originally given by the Potawatomi, and adopted by other tribes,, was **Manawaki**, meaning 'firewater.' Various names applied through history: Melecki (Father Hennepin, 1679); Millicki (Father Zenobe Membre, 1679); Meleki (French, 1684); Milwarik (John Buisson de Cosme, 1699); Milwacky (Lt. James Gorrell, 1761); Millewacki (1817); Milwahkie, Milwalky, Milwaukie, Milwaukee (1880)."

Smith, 1930, p. 259

MINAKAKUN

1. Minakakun, the Menomini village at Fort Howard, in Green Bay, Brown County.

"Menomini villages were situated on the site of the present city of Green Bay on both sides of the Fox River, and at Fort Howard (**Minakakun, 'a fort'**), where they camped under the Fort wall on the site of the present railroad station."

Skinner, 1921, p. 386

MINEMAC

1. Minemac Lake, Sawyer County.

MINDAMOIYA SAIGUN

1. Mindamoiya Saigun, now Smith Lake, Hayward Township, Sawyer County.

"Smith Lake was **Mindamoiya Saigun,**—Old Lady's Lake, from **mindamoiya**, old lady, old woman; and **saigun (saigan)** inland lake."

Brown, 1925, p. 114

MINIKANI SEPEU

1. Minikani Sepeu, the Menomini name for the Menominee River.

"Minikani Sepeu ('village, or town, river'). The Menominee River. The city of Menominee, Mich., was also called Minikani."

Skinner, 1921, p. 386

MINITO

1. Minito Lake, Langlade County.

MINIWAKAN

1. Miniwakan Lake, Langlade County.

MINNECHARA

1. Minnechara, site of an old Indian village on the Fond du Lac River, Fond du Lac County.

"Village (Minnechara) at big bend of the Fond du Lac River." (Shown on map of Fond du Lac, dated 1857).

Brown, 1925, p. 48

MINNECHONKAHA

1. Minnechonkaha, now Mt. Trempealeau, at the mouth of the Black River, in Perrot State Park, on the Mississippi.

"Trempealeau Mountain, called Minnechonkaha ('Bluff in the water') by the Chippewa." Wisconsin, 1941, p. 438

MINNEKAUNEE

1. Minnekaunee, former Indian village at present site of Marinette, Marinette County.

"Minnekaunee, or 'pleasant Town,' village where Marinette is now located." File of Geog. Names

MINNESOTA

1. Minnesota Junction, town in Dodge County.
2. Minnesota Point, a sand spit in Lake Superior, Douglas County.

"Minnesota. The aboriginal name Minnesota means 'sky-tinted water.' (**Minne**, water, and **sota**, somewhat clouded." Upham, 1908, p. 118

"Another river-named state is Minnesota, derived from a Sioux Indian word meaning 'Cloudy Water' or 'Sky-Tinted Water.'" Lawrence, 1920, p. 129

"Minnesota, meaning 'land of the sky-tinted water.'" Burnham, 1930, p. 94

MINNESUING

1. Minnesuing Lake, Douglas County.

MINNEWAUKAN

1. Minnewaukan Lake, now Devil's Lake, Sauk County.

"Devil's Lake. The Indian name, **Minnewaukan**, or Evil Spirit Lake." Derleth, 1942, p. 153

"Going back to the days of the Indians, the body of water (Devil's Lake) was called **Minnewaukan,** or Evil Spirit Lake."
Cole, 1912, p. 25

MINNEWOC

1. Minnewoc Springs, on Pewaukee Lake, Waukesha County.

"**Minne**-(water) and **woc** (place). These springs were at the former Gifford's summer resort." File of Geog. Names

MINOCQUA

1. Minocqua Township, Oneida County.
2. Minocqua Township, Vilas County.
3. Minocqua, town in Oneida County.
4. Minocqua Lake, Oneida County.

"Minocqua. 'Good Woman,' from the Ojibwe words, **min** (good), and **kwe** (woman)." Smith, 1930, p. 259

MINONG

MEENON

MINONK

1. Minong Township, Washburn County.
2. Minong, town in Washburn County.
3. Minong Copper Range.
4. Meenon Township, Burnett County.
5. Minonk Lake, Vilas County.

"Minong. The Chippewa name means 'a good, high place;' pr. **mee-nong.**" Verwyst, 1892, p. 393

"Minong. 'Place of blueberries.' **Min** is the Ojibwe word for blueberries, and **ong** means place. Also a 'good, high place' from the Ojibwe words **man** and **ong.**"
Smith, 1930, p. 259

MISAKOTA

1. Misakota Ojibwe name for the northern end of the Brule-St. Croix portage, Douglas County.
Brown, 1934, p. 35

MISHA MOKWA

1. Misha Mokwa, town in Buffalo County.

"Misha Mokwa means 'great bear.' The word is used to des-

ignate a bear of extra-ordinary size, the patriarch, as it were, of all bears." Verwyst, 1892, p. 393

"Misha Mokwa. Great Bear, from the Menomini words **mitchi makwa.**" Smith, 1930, p. 259

MISHICOTT

1. Mishicott Township, Manitowoc County.
2. Mishicott, town in Manitowoc County.
3. Mishicott River, Manitowoc County.

"Mishicott, named after a chief, meaning 'Hairy Leg.' Derived from the Chippewa." Falge, 1915, p. 128

"Mishicott. **Mishakwut**, Menomini for 'covered by clouds.' " Skinner, 1921, p. 383

"Mishicott, 'great branch.' Tribe unknown." Smith, 1930, p. 259 also Wisconsin, 1941, p. 319

MISHWAWA

1. Mishwawa, now Golden, Lake, Waukesha County.

"Golden Lake, **Mishwawa,** 'elk;' **Wissauwa,** 'yellow.' " Brown, 1930, p. 40

MISKOMENE KAHMING

1. Mishomene Kahming, now Detroit Island, Door County.

"The native name (Potawatomi) for Detroit Island was **Mishomene Kahming,** or Big Raspberry Island." Schumacher, 1918, p. 144

MISHQUAWAUKSA SEJEWUN

1. Misquawauksa Sejewun, now Conant's Rapids, on the Wisconsin River.

"Misquawauksa Sejewun, Red Cedar Rapids, now Conant's Rapids." Calkins, 1903, p. 122

MISSABE

1. Missabe Iron Range.

"Missabe, giant. An Ojibwe word." Smith, 1930, p. 259

MISSISSIPPI

1. Mississippi River, western border of state.

"The Indians never speak of the Mississippi as 'The Father

of Waters,' that is rather fanciful; but invariably refer to it as 'The Big River.' The Winnebago called it **Neekoonts-Hahtakah**, the former part of that compound word, **neekoonts**, meaning river, and **hahtakah**, large. The Sauk designated it as **Me-cha Sapo**; the Menomonees, **Mecha-Sepua**; the Kickapoos, **Me-che Sepe**; the Chippewas, **Meze Sebe**; and the Ottawas, **Missis-Sepi**. In all these slight variations, **mecha**, **meche**, **meze**, and **missis**, all mean the same thing,—large or big; and **sapo**, **sepe**, **zebe**, and **sepi**, all mean river."

Brisbois, 1882, pp. 301-302

"Mississippi. Corrupt form of **mishisibi** ('large river'), pr-**mee-shee-see-bee. Misi**, or **michi**, is large, and **sibi**, river. The Chippewa also call it **missisibi** (pr. **mee-see-see-bee)**, and **messisibi** (pr. **mes-sis-see-bee.)**" Verwyst, 1892, p. 393

"A great many scholars of our Indian languages have tried their hand at the word Mississippi; but most of them are wrong. I used to be told that it is a Menomonee word, **mash-chechepee** (the great river). Of course one is apt to be led astray, in tracing phonetic resemblances in native languages; and I merely venture this derivation, because our people used to believe it, and we lived in very close relations with both Menomonees and Pottawattomies." Vieau, 1900, p. 469

"Mississippi. Missi means great; and sippi, otherwise spelled **sipi** or **sebe** or **zibi**, is the common Algonquian or Ojibway word for a river. Endeavoring to translate more fully the aboriginal significance of **Missi**, Garnett says that Mississippi means 'great water' or 'gathering in of all the waters' and 'an almost endless river spread out.'

The phrase, Father of Waters, popularly given to this river, has not warrant in the Algonquian name."

Upham, 1908, p. 121

"Baraga's **Chippewa Dictionary** shows that the word Mississippi originates in **Mitchi-sepe**, from **Mitchi-** (big) and **sepe** (river)." Draper, 1909, p. 134

"Our greatest river, the Mississippi, gives name to one of our states. The Indian word means 'Gathering in of all the

waters' or 'Great long river,' which have been interpreted by some to mean 'Father of Waters,' although this is not a technically correct translation. The Indian term for this stream would seem to indicate that the aborigines had a fair conception of its great size." Lawrence, 1920, p. 129

"Mississippi. 'Great or big river.' Ojibwe word **'mishisibi,'** from **mishi-**, great, and **sibi**, river." Smith, 1930, p. 259

MITCEKANE

1. Mitcekane Lake, probably Lake Butte des Morts, Winnebago County.

"Mitchekane ('stockade'), a lake between Winneconne and Oshkosh City." Skinner, 1921, p. 388

(Note: The lake between Lake Winneconne and the City of Oshkosh is Lake Butte des Morts. The appelant 'stockade' may have come from some aboriginal fortification at Butte de Morts, known to have been the scene of Indian warfare.)

MITCHIGAMI

1. Mitchigami, now Fence, Lake, Vilas County.

"The Ojibwe word for Fence lake was 'mitchigan' meaning 'a wooden fence to catch deer near its banks,' and the translation was adopted by the whites." Smith, 1930, p. 256

"Fence Lake, in Chippewa, is **Mitchikani-Sagaigan**, 'fence lake,' from **mitchikan**, (a kind of fence or grating, built across a river to prevent the fish from going further up the river; then they are easily speared or caught.)"

File of Geog. Names

MOCCASIN

1. Moccasin Lake, a. Vilas County, b. Oneida County.
2. Moccasin Creek, near Nekoosa, in Wood and Portage Counties.
3. Moccasin Bend, of the Wisconsin River, in Dewey Tonwship, Portage County.

"Moccasin. The soft skin shoes of the North American Indians. The word, spelled formerly also **moccason**, is derived from one of the eastern Algonquian dialects: Powhatan, **mockasin, mawkasun**; Massachuset, **mohkisson**; Narraganset, **moc-**

ussin; Chippewa, **makisin.**'' Hodge, 1907, p. 916

''Moccasin. Indian shoe; Ojibwe word, **makasin.**''
Smith, 1930, p. 259

MOHAWSKIN

1. Mohawskin Lake, Lincoln County.

MONCHES

1. Monches, town in Waukesha County.

''Monches—(meaning unknown)—named after Chief Monches, who had a Potawatomi village at that site and lies buried there.'' Lacher, 1932, p. 851

MONINGWUNAKAUNING
MONINGWANEKANING

1. Moningwunakauning Island, now Madeleine Island, one of the Apostles, in Lake Superior.

''The Ojibways removed to the adjacent island of Moningwunakauning (the place of the golden-breasted woodpecker), now called Madeleine.'' Davidson, 1892, p. 439

''Its (Madeleine Island) name was Moningwanekaning, supposed to mean Place of the Golden-breasted Woodpecker (hence, sometimes Woodpecker Island). However, Father Chrysostom Verwyst, now our best authority on Chippewa place names, defines it as 'the place where there are lapwings.' '' Burnham, 1930, p. 100

''Monungwahnacaning: This name is applied to La Pointe, on Lake Superior, which signifies Yellow Woodpecker, and was given on account of the great abundance of those birds on which La Pointe is situated.'' Calkins, 1903, p. 123

MONISHNAPISH

1. Monishnapish, now Denoon, Lake, Waukesha and Racine Counties.

''On the Stated Land Map of 1836,' Denoon Lake is called Mo-nish-na-pish.'' Brown, 1923, p. 96

MONONA

1. Lake Monona, Dane County.

2. Monona Marsh, Dane County.
3. Monona Grove, on Lake Monona.
4. Monona Heights, on Lake Monona.
5. Monona Ridge, on Lake Monona.

"Monona. From **Manoman**, Potawatomi for 'Wild Rice.' "

Skinner, 1926, p. 399

"The origin of the name Monona is not known. It may have been derived from the Dakota word **mi-ni**, meaning water."

Brown, 1922, p. 122

"Monona is a Sauk and Fox name for something that might be called a super-woman. Evidently it is used as a reference to a mythical person who presides over the social affairs of the Indian wigwam, who mystically guides the thoughts and actions of the people in their social relations,—a sort of household god, as it were. Monona, among the Indians, is supposed to be a woman of more or less supernatural powers, far above all other Indians. Therefore it is a name that is almost sacred among the Sac and Fox Indians." (This information was furnished in a letter to me by Curator Ora Williams, Iowa State Department of History and Archives)."

Cassidy, 1945, pp. 18-19

MOONAPAGA

1. Mt. Moonapaga, east of De Soto, in Verson County.

"Moonapaga (Brave Soldier), named for a noted local Winnebago."

Emerson, 1933, p. 108

MOQUAH

1. Moquah, town in Bayfield County.
2. Moquah Lake, Ashland Cousty.

"Moquah. 'Bear,' Ojibwe and Potawatomi word '**makwa.**' "

Smith, 1930, p. 259

MOSHAWGUIT

1. Moshawguit Lake, Oconto County.

MOSINEE

1. Mosinee Township, Marathon County.
2. Mosinee, town in Marathon County.
3. Mosinee Falls, on the Wisconsin River.
4. Mosinee Hills, (monadnocks).

"Mosinee. From **mosinig** ('moose'), pr. **mo-see-neeg.** There were probably Indians at these falls, in olden times, who were thus called from their tribal totem."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 394

"Mosinee. 'Cold land,' Winnebago word, '**mosini.**' (moose), from 'mozineeg,' Ojibwe word." Smith, 1930, p. 259

"Mosinee. (Ind., **mosining,** moose)."

Wisconsin, 1941, p. 382

MTTESH-WAN-KQUETWEN

1. Mttesh-wan.kpuetwen, the kettle holes south of Anchor Point, on Pine Lake, Waukesha County.

"From Anchor Point southward there are a number of picturesque kettle holes; because of them this land has the Potawatomi designation **Mttesh-wan-kquetwen.**"

Brown, 1930, p. 28

MUCKODE IAWSIBI

1. Muckode Iawsibi, now Prairie River, Barron County.

"**Muckode Iawsibi,** derived from the Ojibwe, meaning "prairie river.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 262

MUHWAO SEPEU

1. Muhwao Sepeu, Menomini for the present Wolf River.

"**Muhwao Sepeu,** ('wolf river'), the present Wolf River."

Skinner, 1921, p. 388

MUKSUK

1. Muksuk Lake, now Lake Geneva, Walworth County.

"The Potawatomi name for Lake Genva was '**muksuk**' or 'Bigfoot's Lake.' Bigfoot was the name of their chief."

Smith, 1930, p. 257

MUKWA

1. Mukwa Township, Waupaca County.

"**Mukwa—bear.** There was a Menomini chief of that name."

File of Geog. Names

MUKWA-MUKO-MIN

1. Mukwa-muko-min, on the north shore of Lake Geneva, at the Narrows, Walworth County.

"The land about the Chapin place was designated by the

Potawatomi as **Mukwa-muko-min**, 'a place where the black bear digs for a certain kind of root.' ''

Brown and Brown, 1928, p. 150

MUKWANAGO

1. Mukwanago Township, Waukesha County.
2. Mukwanago, town in Waukesha County.
3. Mukwanago Lake, Waukesha County.
4. Mukwanago River, Waukesha County.

''**Muk-won-a-go**, accent on the final syllable, means 'bear.' ''

Waukesha, 1880, p. 378

''Mukwanago—**Mukwa**, bear; mukwanago, place of the bear.'' Brown, 1930, p. 41

''Mukwanago is a corruption from **mukwa (bear)** and **on-ahko** (fat)—the fat bear.'' Vieau, 1900, p. 468

''It was called Mukwanago by the Potawatomi Indians, the significance of which is 'a place where bears are killed.' ''

Porter, 1902, p. 13

''Mukwanago. Perhaps from **makwanagong** (bear-lair, or place where the bear lies), pr. **mauk-wau-na-gong.**''

Verwyst, 1892, p. 394

''Maquanago. A former village, probably of the Potawatomi, near Waukesha.'' Hodge, 1907, p. 804

''Mukwanago, previous to 1836, was a large and populous Indian village. It was the chief village of the Pottawatomies, situated on Mukwanago Creek. The name as first sanctioned by the legislature was Mequanego.''

Waukesha, 1880, p. 756

Muk-won, accent on the last syllable, in which 'o' sounds like 'o' in oats, is the Pottawatomie name for 'bear;' and Mukwanago is 'the place of the bear.' ''

Waukesha, 1880, p. 383

''**Mequon-i-go**, from **Me-quan-ie-go-ick**; **mic-wan** signifies a ladle; a bend in the stream known by the name resembling a ladle, seems to have given the name. That the resemblance may be detected, it may be well to remark that the Indian

ladle is a very crooked utensil with the handle turning quite over the bowl." Hathaway, 1903, p. 118.

"Mukwanago. 'Bear' or 'place where bear constellation is.' Ojibwe word '**makwa,**' bear; **agong,** place. The Potawatomi word means 'crying for her,' that is, 'mother gone away.' Ojibwe word, **mikwan,** a ladle."

Smith, 1930, p. 259

MUK-WAN-WISH-TA-GUON

1. Muk-wan-wish-ta-guon, now the Wolf River, Waupaca County.

"The Wolf River was called '**muk-wan-wish-ta-guon,**' the accent on the first and third, the half accent on the last syllable. Muk-wan signifies 'bear;' the whole word, 'bear's head.' The early settlers substituted the name Wolf."

Ware, 1917, p. 5

.."**Muk-wan-wish-ta-guon,** accent on first and third syllables. **Muk-wan** signifies bear; **wish-ta-quon, head;** the whole: bear's head."

Hathaway, 1903, p. 117

MUSCODA

1. Muscoda Township, Grant County.
2. Muscoda, town in Grant County.

"Muscoda. Corruption of **mashkodeng** (prairie). The French applied the name, corrupted into **Mascoutin,** to a tribe of Indians (the Prairie Potawatomi) on the upper Fox River, because they lived in a prairie country."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 394

"Muscoda. 'Prairie,' Ojibwe word '**muckode.**' Also said to mean 'buffalo,' which in Ojibwe is 'muckodepijiki.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 260

MUSHAWABA

1. Mushawaba Spring, on the eastern bank of the Rock River, to the north of Riverside Park, near Janesville, Rock County.

"At the eastern end of this property, about a mile and a half north of the city of Janesville, a crystal brook flows from a spring (Crystal Spring) at the base of the bluffs, through a

small area of marshy ground to the river bank. This spring, Geo. S. Parker, of Janesville, has informed us, was in former years visited by a large number of Indians. He believes their name for it to have been **Mushawaba**. This name Daniel Shepard, a Wisconsin Potawatomi, translated as meaning 'rabbit man.' He thinks that this designation may have been given to it because of the transformation of an Indian into a rabbit at or near this place. This spring was very probably a 'sacred or medicine' spring.''

Brown and Brown, 1929, p. 59

MUSH-KO-DA-NY

1. Mush-ko-da-ny, former Ojibwa village, now Plover, Portage County.

''Mushkodany, Chippewa name for Plover. The meaning is 'prairie,' given on account of the prairie-like country around it.''

Calkins, 1903. p. 122

MUSHKODAWUN

1. Mush-ko-day-yaw Sebe, Prairie River, a tributary of the Wisconsin River.
2. Mushkodawun Creek, now Little Prairie Creek.
3. Mushkodawun Falls, now Prairie or Jenny Bull Falls, of the Wisconsin River.
4. Mushkadawn, now the Little Black River, Douglas County.

''**Mush-ko-da-wun Sebeweshance,** Little Prairie Creek. **Mush-ko-day-yaw-Sebe,** Prairie River. **Mush-ko-da-yaw Sa-se-je-wun,** Prairie Rapids, now knows as Jenny Bull Rapids. **Mush-ko-da-yaw Tosh-ko-bo-je-gun,** Jenny Bull Falls.''

Calkins, 1903. pp. 120-122

MUSKEG

1. Muskeg, town in Bayfield County.

''Muskeg. **Mashkig,** swamp. Pronounced **mush-keeg.**''

Verwyst, 1892, p. 394

MUSKEGO

1. Muskego Township, Waukesha County.
2. Muskego, town in Waukesha County.
3. Muskego Lake, Waukesha County.

4. Muskego Marsh, Waukesha County.
5. Little Muskego Lake, Waukesha County.
6. Muskego Creek, Waukesha County.
7. Muskego River, now Bad River, Ashland County.

"Muskego. From **Mushi-gwa**, Potawatomi for 'a sunfish.' "
Skinner, 1926, p. 399

"Muskego. Corruption of **mashkigong**, the locative case of **mashkig**, and means at, to, or from a swamp. Pr. **Mush-kee-gong.**" Verwyst, 1892, p. 394

"Muskeego, from **muskeeguiac**, signifies cranberry; probably Pottawattomie." Hathaway, 1903, p. 117

"**Musk-ee-quiack**, accent on the final syllable means 'sunfish.' Muskego was derived from this term."
Waukesha, 1880, p. 378

"Muskego. **Muskikwa**, a sunfish; **Mashkig**, swamp; **Muskequack**, fishing place."
Brown, 1930, p. 40

"Muskego. 'Swamp,' Ojibwe word 'muckigo.' "
Smith, 1930, p. 260

"The Indian name for the Mauvaise (Bad) River was Muskeego."—Footnote by R. G. Thwaites to Malhiot's Journal. Wis. Hist. Coll., xix, p. 176.

"Muskego was originally **muskeekwak**, sun fish."
Vieau, 1900, p. 468

MUSKESIN

1. Muskesin Lake, Vilas County.

MUS-KOS SEPE

1. Mus-kos Sepe, now Pine River, Marinette County.

"The tributary of the Menominee called Mus-kos Sepe, is called by some 'Pine River.' "
Schubert, 1950, p. 71

NABOB

1. Nabob, town in Washington County.

"Nabob. 'Soup,' Menomini word."
Smith, 1930, p. 260

NAGADJIWAN

1. Nagadjiwan, now Fond du Lac, Fond du Lac County.

"Fond du Lac. Known to the Ojibwe as 'nagadjiwan' (meaning unknown)."

Smith, 1930, p. 256

NAGAWICKA

1. Nagawicka, town in Waukesha County.
2. Nagawicka Lake, Waukesha County.

"Nagawicka—**Nagawicka,** 'sandy;' **nagamowike,** 'song-stress.' "

Forsbeck, 1936, p. 101
also Brown, 1930, p. 40

"Nagawicka. 'There is sand' from the Ojibwe word '**negaw ika.**' "

Smith, 1930, p. 260

NAHBANA

1. Nahbana Falls, now Trap Falls, on the Wisconsin River.

"Nah-ba-na-sa-se-je-wun —'One-sided Rapids,' now called Trap Rapids."

Calkins, 1903, p. 120

NA-HOO-RAH-RO-HAH-RAH

1. Na-hoo-rah-ro-hah-rah, Winnebago village at present site of Brodhead, Green County.

"White Breast's Winnebago village (Na-hoo-rah-ro-hah-rah, 'Sturgeon Spawn') was located at Brodhead."

Brown, 1925, p. 57

"Farther up the Sugar River was another Winnebago village at about the location of the present city of Brodhead. The Winnebago name of this village, Na-hoo-rah-ro-hah-rah, means sturgeon's spawn."

Jipson, 1923, p. 132

NAKOMA

1. Nakoma, suburb of Madison, Dane County.

NAMAGOSH

1. Namagosh Lake, Bayfield County.

NAMAO USNAKASE

1. Namao Usnakase, the Menomini name for Sturgeon

Falls on the Menominee River.

"Namao Usnakase ('sturgeon barrier'). This was the northern inland boundary of the tribe ,and here the traditional break-up of the two nations into two groups (purely mythical) through a quarrel over the supply of sturgeon, took place."

Skinner, 1921, p. 387

NAMAO WIKITU

1. Namao Wikitu, the Menomini name for the bay now known as Sturgeon Bay, in Door County.

"Namao Wikitu ('sturgeon bay'), Sturgeon Bay."

Skinner, 1921, p. 386

NA-MA-WE-QUI-TONG

1. Na-ma-we-qui-tong, now Sturgeon Bay, Door County.

"The native Potawatomi name for Sturgeon Bay was **Na-ma-we-qui-tong.**" Schumacher, 1918, p. 142

"A large village was at Sturgeon Bay. The Potawatomi name for the bay was Na-ma-we-qui-tong."

Lawson, 1920, p. 50

NAMEKAGON

1. Namekagon Township, Bayfield County.
2. Namekagon Lake, Bayfield County.
3. Namekagon River, Burnett County.
4. Namekagon Rapids on the Namekagon River.

"Namekagon—from **namakagan** ('sturgeon ground, or place of the sturgeons')." Verwyst, 1892, p. 394

"Namakagon was named from the word **nama,** a sturgeon, and **kagon** or **kagun**, a yoke or weir, such as was used to catch sturgeon." Burnham, 1930, p. 97

"Namakagon. 'Sturgeon' or 'place of sturgeons' or 'place where the sturgeons are plentiful.' The Ojibwe word **nama** means sturgeon." Smith, 1930, p. 260

"Sturgeon Dam or 'Namai Kowagon.' It was the site of a flourishing Indian village." Curot, 1911, p. 408

NAMEBINIKANENSI-SIBIWISHEN

1. Namebinikanensi-Sibiwishen, now Boyd's Creek, Ashland County.

"Boyd's Creek is called in Chippewa, **'Namebinikanensi-Sibiwishen,'** meaning 'Little Sucker Creek.' "

Verwyst, 1895, p. 431

NANAN

1. Nanan Creek, Columbia County.

NAPOWAN

1. Napowan Lake, Waushara County.

NA-SA-KOO-CHA-TE-LA

1. Na-sa-koo-cha-te-la Lake, now Lake Kegonsa, Dane County.

"Oliver Lemere informed Dr. N. W. Jipson that the Winnebago called Kegonsa Na-sa-hoo-cha-te-la, meaning 'hard maple grove lake.' " Brown, 1922, p. 122

"The Winnebago name for Lake Kegonsa, according to the late Dr. N. W. Jipson, is **Na-sa-koo-cha-te-la**, or 'hard maple grove' lake, a name doubtless derived from the presence of the sugar bush on Sugar Bush Point on its northern shore, the site of an early Winnebago village."

McLachlan, 1925, p. 183

NASEWAUPEE

1. Nasewaupee Township, Door County.

NASHOTAH
NESHOTA
NESHOTO

1. Nashotah, town in Waukesha County.
2. Upper Nashotah Lake, Waukeska County.
3. Lower Nashotah Lake, Waukesha County.
4. Neshota River, Brown County.
5. Neshoto, town in Manitowoc County.
6. Neshoto River, Manitowoc County.

"Nashotah. From **Nisho'ta**, Potawatomi for 'The Twins.' "

Skinner, 1922, p. 399

"Nashotah. Corruption of **nijode** ('a twin'), pr. **nee-sho-da.**" Verwyst, 1892, p. 394

"Neshoto (river) meaning 'twins.' Derived from the Chippewa." Falge, 1915, p. 128

"Nashotah. **Nishota,** twins; **Nijode,** twins."
Forsbeck, 1936, p. 101
also Brown, 1930, p. 40

"Nashotah. 'The twins' or 'one of a pair.' In Dakota language—'kicks up smoke.' Ojibwe word '**nijode**' means twin." Smith, 1930, p. 260

"**Ne-sho-tah,** or Twins, now known as Two Rivers. A glance at the map shows how appropriate the name."
Hathaway, 1903, p. 117

NATANANO

1. Natanano, town in Shawano County.
2. Na-ta-nano, or Smoky Falls of the Wolf River, on the Menomini Reservation, Shawano County.

"Natanano. 'Smoky Falls,' Menomini."
Smith, 1930, p. 260

NATOMA

1. Natoma, suburb of Madison, Dane County.

"Natoma. 'On my way back,' from Ojibwe word 'nadoma.' "
Smith, 1930, p. 260

NAWAII

1. Nawaii Lake, Oneida County.

NAY-OSH-ING

1. Nay-osh-ing, later The Point, on the Wisconsin River.

Nay-osh-ing, Chippewa for The Point, once the site of Du Bay's trading post."
Calkins, 1903, p. 122

NEBAGAMON

1. Lake Nebagamon, Town in Douglas County.
2. Nebagamon Lake, Douglas County.
3. Lake Nebagamon Rapids, on the Bois Brule River.
4. Nebagamon Creek.

"Nebagamin. Corruption of **nibegomowin** ('watching for game at night in a boat')." Verwyst, 1892, p. 394
also Smith, 1930, p. 260

NEBISH

1. Nebish Lake, Vilas County.

NECEDAH

1. Necedah Township, Juneau County.
2. Necedah, Town in Juneau County.
3. Necedah National Wild Life Refuge, Juneau County.

"Necedah. Corruption of **nissida** ('let there be three of us'), pr. **nis-see-dah.**" Verwyst, 1892, p. 394

"Necedah. 'Yellow River' or Ojibwe word '**nijida**' meaning 'let there be three of us.' The Winnebago word '**nizida**' means 'yellow.'" Smith, 1930, p. 260

"The Yellow River . . . this is but the translation of the Winnebago word **necedah**—yellow."
Kingston, 1908, p. 396

NECONISH

1. Neconish Lake, Shawano County.

NEDOBIKAG-SIBIWISHEN

1. Nedobikag-sibiwishen, now Bay City Creek, Ashland County.

"The original settler of Ashland was old Chief Tagwanago. When he lived on the Bay City Creek it went by the name of Nedobikag-sibiwishen." Burnham, 1930, p. 402

"Nedobikag-sibiwishen is the Indian name for Bay City Creek, within the limits of Ashland."
Verwyst, 1895, p. 430

NEEHAHKECOONAHERAH

1. Neehahkecoonaherah, Winnebago name for The Dells, in Sauk County.

"Neehahkecoonaherah, Winnebago name for The Dells, meaning 'the place where the rocks strike together.'"
Derleth, 1942, p. 154

NEENAH

1. Neenah Township, Winnebago County.
2. Neenah, city in Winnebago County.
3. Neenah Creek, Columbia and Marquette Counties.

"Neenah. 'Water.' '**Nina**' is the Winnebago word for water, while '**nina**' in Ojibwe means 'an Indian man.'"

Smith, 1930, p. 260

NEE-RU-TCHA-JA

1. Nee-ru-tscha-ja, a ford in the Rock River, Jefferson County.

"Another Rock River ford was located at the white settlement of Indian Ford, about six miles north of Janesville. This was an old and important river crossing. The Winnebago designated it as **Nee-ru-tcha-ja**, 'river crossing.'"

Brown, 1934, p. 70

"Indian Ford. At this settlement there was an old Indian crossing or ford of the Rock River. The old Winnebago name was **Nee-ru-tcha-ja**, or 'river crossing;' also given as **Ho-ru-tchkach**."

Brown and Brown, 1929, p. 39

NEESHABE

1. Neeshabe, now the Black River, in Jackson and Trempealeau Counties.

"The Winnebago name is **Neeshabe**. **Nee** is water, and '**shabe**' is black. The water is almost black." Mitchell Red Cloud and Charles E. Brown, Dec. 1, 1943."

File of Geog. Names

NEE-SHO-TI-JE-WA-JOC

1. Nee-sho-ti-je-wa-joc, now Two Rivers, Manitowoc County.

"Nee-sho-ti-je-wa-joc, the Chippewa name for Two Rivers."

Falge, 1915, p. 146

NEESKARA

1. Neeskara Spring, near Hawley Road and the Menomonee River, Milwaukee County.

NEGANI

1. Negani Lake, Iron County.

NEKIMI

1. Nekimi Township, Winnebago County.
2. Nekimi, town in Winnebago County.

"Nekimi. Mr. Gunroe thinks this is a corruption of **nikimi** ('wild goose berry'), pr. **nee-kee-min. Niki** is goose, and **min,** berry. These berries grow along the shores of rivers and lakes, and wild geese feed on them."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 394

NEKOOSA

1. Nekoosa, town in Wood County.

"Nekoosa. 'Running water.' **'Nikusa'** in Winnebago is their name for the Wisconsin River. '**Nikoosa**' in Potawatomi means 'star.'"

Smith, 1930, p. 260

NEMACAGON

1. Nemacagon River, Washburn County.

NEMADJI

1. Nemadji River, Douglas County.

"Nemadji. It is generally supposed that **nemadji** means 'left hand;' but Mr. Gurnoe says **nemadji** comes from **nemadjitigweig,** 'a river falling perpendicularly from a considerable elevation."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 394

NEMAHBIN

1. Upper Nemahbin Lake, Waukesha County.
2. Lower Nemahbin Lake, Waukesha County.

"Ojibwe name for 'sucker' is **nemahbin.**"

Laidlaw, 1922, p. 36

"Nemahbin—**Namahbin, 'shiner.' Miskonabin,** 'sucker.' **Namebin,** 'sucker.'"

Forsbeck, 1936, p. 101
also Brown, 1930, p. 40

"Nemahbin. 'A kind of trout.' **Nema** (trout) and **bin** (the diminutive), may have referred to cisco."

Smith, 1930, p. 260

NEMETSAKOUAT

1. Nemetsakouat, the Siouan name for the northern end of the Brule-St. Croix portage in Douglas County.

Brown, 1934, p. 35

NEOPIT

1. Neopit, town in Shawano County.

"**Niuopet.** ('four-seated' or 'four in a den.') Neopit, named for the old chief Neopit, son of Oshkosh."

Skinner, 1921, p. 389

NEOSHO

1. Neosho, town in Dodge County.

"Neosho. 'Small water hole,' Winnebago word 'niozho.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 260

NEPEUSKUN

1. Nepeuskun Township, Winnebago County.

NEPEUSPA'PENINO

1. Nepeuspa'penino, now Oconto Falls, Oconto County.

"Nepeuspa'penino ('where water falls'), the Menomini name of Oconto Falls. A Menomini village is said to have been located there."

Skinner, 1921, p. 385

NEQUI-ANTIGO-SEEBEH

1. Nequi-antigo-seebeh, now Spring River, Langlade County.

"**Nequi-antigo-seebeh,** the Chippewa name of Spring River, signifying 'balsam evergreen river.'"

Dessureau, 1922, p. 99

NESHKORO

1. Neshkoro Township, Marquette County.
2. Neshkoro, town in Marquette County.

"Neshkoro. 'Salt' or 'sweet water,' Winnebago word."

Smith, 1930, p. 260

NESHONO

1. Neshono, town in La Crosse County.

NEVA

1. Neva Township, Langlade County.
2. Neva Corners, town in Langlade County.
3. Neva Lake, Langlade County.

"Neva township was named in honor of Chief Neva, leader of a tribe of Chippewa Indians, who visited at what is now known as Neva Corners on their way north in an early day."

Dessureau, 1922, p. 14

NEWISSAKODE-SIBI

1. Newissakode-Sibi, now Bois Brule River, Douglas County.

"Newissakode-Sibi, half-burnt wood (discolored by fire)—'point river' from '**ne**' (pr. nay), which designates a point of land jutting out into a lake or river, and '**wissakode,**' (half-burned, discolored wood)."

File of Geog. Names

NIAGARA

1. Niagara Township, Marinette County.
2. Niagara, town in Marinette County.
3. The Niagara escarpment.

"Niagara. Of Iroquoian origin. The most probable derivation is from the Iroquoian sentence-word, which in Onondaga and Seneca becomes **O'hnia'ga,** and in Tuscarora, **U'hnia'kar,** signifying 'bisected bottom-land."

Hodge, 1907, p. 68

NICABOYNE

1. Nicaboyne Lake, Burnett County.

NIGANIS OMANIGAN

1. Niganis Omanigan, an Indian settlement near Phlox, Langlade County.

"**Niganis Omanigan** (Niganis, a Potawatomi personal name), a settlement on the Menomini Reservation) near Phlox."

Skinner, 1921, p. 389

NIKUSA

1. Nikusa Island, in the Wisconsin River, at Wisconsin Dells.

Smith, 1928, p. 80

NIN-DO-NAH-GUN

1. Nin-do-nah-gun, the region about the Kakagon Sloughs, in Bayfield County.

"The Chippewa Indians called the kak-kah-gun swamps and the adjoining lands, 'My Dish,' Indian name for the same is '**Nin-duh-tah-so-win.**' This because it had wild rice, blueberries and cranberries. Fish were also abundant. In addition,

there were wild animals such as muskrats, deer and rabbits in the greatest abundance."

Burnham, 1930, p. 352

NIPPERSINK

1. Nippersink Lake, Walworth County.
2. Nippersink River, Walworth County.

"Nipissing ('at the water or lake') referring to Lake Nipissing; **Nipisirien**, 'little water people,' a tribe of the Algonkian."

Hodge, 1907, Vol. II, p. 73

NOBOKEN

1. Noboken Lake, Langlade County.

NOCQUEBAY

1. Lake Nocquebay, Marinette County.

Although writing about Bay de Noquet, in Michigan, the following note by Chrysostom Verwyst, seems apropos to Nocquebay: "From **noke** (bear totem), pr. **no-ka**. Indians lived on its shores, having the bear as their totem."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 395

NOGOSHING

1. Nogoshing, now St. Francis, town in Milwaukee County.

"Original Indian name was '**nogoshing**' from '**natowe**,' meaning snakes, or enemies."

Smith, 1930, p. 263

NOKOMIS

1. Nokomis Lake, Oneida County.
2. North Nokomis Lake, Oneida County.

NOKUM

1. Nokum Lake, now Pike Lake, Washington County.

"The name given Pike Lake by the early Indians was **Nokum**, or 'Heart' Lake, because of its shape."

Brown, 1927, p. 41

NONOKEN

1. Nonoken Lake, Forest County.

NOQUETTE

1. Bay de Noquette, at the mouth of Green Bay, Brown County.

"Bay de Noquette. Named for an Algonquin tribe located by the earliest French writers about Noquet Bay, at the mouth of Green Bay. **Noquet** meaning 'bear foot,' another name for the bear gens of the Chippewas." **Hodge, 1907, p. —**

"Noquets. According to Nicolet (Rel. 1636-40), the Noquets were, at the time of his visit in 1639, on the shores of Lake Superior. A bay, and islands, at the mouth of Green Bay, bear their name, and show the place of their residence. They subsequently came down into Wisconsin."

Shea, 1857, pp. 134-135

NORWALK

1. Norwalk, town in Monroe County.

"Norwalk. Named for Norwalk, Connecticut, which was named for an Indian word meaning 'point of land.'"

Smith, 1930, p. 260

OCONOMOWOC

1. Oconomowoc Township, Waukesha County.
2. Oconomowoc, town in Waukesha County.
3. Oconomowoc Lake, Waukesha County.

"**Coo-no-mo-wauk,** from which was derived the name Oconomowoc, was the Pottawatomie term for distinguishing a waterfall in that vicinity." **Waukesha, 1880, p. 378**

"Oconomowoc. Corruption of **okonimawag** (beaver-dam), pr. **O-con-ee-mau-wag.** There were probably several beaver dams in the neighborhood." **Verwyst, 1892, p. 395**

"Oconomowoc has been corrupted from the old name oconnemiwing (waterfall), meaning, in a large way, that the water here fell and expanded into lakes. Curiously enough, this corruption becomes actually another Pottawattomie word, for **oconomowoc** really means 'the gathering of the livers,' which of course is a misapplication." **Vieau, 1900, p. 468**

"Oconomowoc. 'Beaver dam' or 'region of beaver dams' or 'beaver dam woods.'" **Smith, 1930, p. 260**

"Oconomowoc. **Koonomowok,** 'name of a waterfall.'"

Brown, 1930, p. 20
also Forsbeck, 1936, p. 101

OCONTO

1. Oconto County.
2. Oconto Township, Oconto County.
3. Oconto, city in Oconto County.
4. Oconto River.
5. Oconto Creek.
5. Oconto Bay.
7. Oconto Falls, township in Oconto County.
8. Oconto Falls, town in Oconto County.
9. Oconto Junction, town in Oconto County.

"Oconto. From **Oka'to,** Menomini for 'pike place.' "

Skinner, 1921, p. 383

"Oconto. 'Red ground' or 'place of the pickerel' or 'black bass' or 'boat paddle.' Menomini word."

Smith, 1930, p. 261

ODANAH

1. Odanah, town in Ashland County.

"Odanah, 'town or village,' Ojibwe."

Smith, 1930, p. 261

ODJIBI-KISIBI

1. Odjibi-Kisibi, now Root River, Racine County.

"Racine. Called by the Ojibwe 'odjibi-Kisibi' (Root River) and translated into French."

Smith, 1930, p. 263

OGEMA

1. Ogema Township, Price County.
2. Ogema, town in Price County.

"Ogema. From **ogima** (a chief), pr. **o-gee-mau.**"

Verwyst, 1892, p. 395

"Ogema. 'Great chief.' Ojibwe and Potawatomi."

Smith, 1930, p. 261

OGEMAGA

1. Ogemaga Lake, Oneida County.

OHIMIS

1. Ohimis Lake, Forest County.

OHKAKAUDAHGOKAG

1. Ohkakaudahgokag Falls, on the Wisconsin River, now

Spruce or Little Bull Falls.

Calkins, 1903, p. 122

OJAWASHKO SAGAIGAN

1. Ojawashko Sagaigan, now Green Lake, Green Lake County.

"In an article published in the magazine, **Acta et Dicta,** in July, 1916, Chrysostom Verwyst, O. F. M., gives the Ojibwa name for Green Lake as '**Ojawashko Sagaigan,**' or green lake." **Ojawashk** is the Ojibwa word for green."

Brown, 1917, p.1

"Green Lake. In Chippewa '**Ojawashko Sagaigan,** from **ojawashk** (green) and **sagaigan** (inland lake).' "

File of Geog. Names

OJIBWA

1. Ojibwa Township, Sawyer County.
2. Ojibwa, town in Sawyer County.
3. Ojibwa State Park.

"Ojibwa. Named for tribe of Ojibwe."

Smith, 1930, p. 261

OKATOSA

1. Okatosa, a Menomini village now known as South Branch Settlement, on the Menomini Indian Reservation.

"Okatosa ('little pike place')."

Skinner, 1921, p. 389

OKAUCHEE

1. Okauchee, town in Waukesha County.
2. Okauchee Lake, Waukesha County.

"Okauchee. from **Okatci,** Potawatomi for 'something small.' "

Skinner, 1926, p. 399

"Okauchee—**Okatci.** 'Something small;' **okidji,** 'a pipe-stem.' "

Brown, 1930, p. 40
and Forsbeck, 1936, p. 101
and Lacher, 1932, p. 85.

"Okauchee. 'Chief is come,' Winnebago. Another unknown language, 'very long.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 261

OKEE

1. Okee, town in Columbia County.

"Okee. From **aki** (land), pr. **au-kee.**"

Verwyst, 1892, p. 395

"Okee. 'Earth or place' or 'evil spirit,' Ojibwe word; **'aki'** in most Algonkian tongues means the ground or earth."

Smith, 1930, p. 261

OMA

1. Oma Township, Iron County.

ONALASKA

1. Onalaska Township, La Crosse County.
2. Onalaska, town in La Crosse County.

"Onalaska. 'Bright water,' the name of an Indian woman, unknown." Smith, 1930, p. 261

ONAMUN USTAT

1. Onamun Ustat, a Menomini source of vermilion on the Wolf River.

"**Onamun Ustat** ('where vermilion exists, or is to be had,') a clay bank on the Wolf River, near **Wakitcon Omanikun,** Chief Wakitcon's village, resorted to for red paint."

Skinner, 1921, p. 388

ONEGAHNING

1. Onegahning, the Potawatomi village at the east end of the Sturgeon Bay ship canal, Door County.

"The Potawatomi village located at the Lake Michigan side of the present Sturgeon Bay Canal was called **O ne gah ning,** meaning 'to carry a canoe back and forth,' indicating a portage." Schumacher, 1916, p. 143

"The Sturgeon Bay portage at the lake end was known as **One gah ning.**" Lawson, 1920, p. 51

ONEIDA

1. Oneida County.
2. Oneida Township, Outgamie County.
3. Oneida, town in Brown County.
4. Oneida Station, town in Outgamie County.
5. Oneida Lake, Oneida County.

6. Oneida Prairie, on the Fox River.

"Oneida. Compressed form of the common Iroquois term **tiionen'iote**, 'there it-it-rock has-set-up' (continuitive) i. e., 'a rock that something set up (nature or glacier, for example) and is still standing.' The Oneida tribe was a part of the Iroquois confederation. In 1846, the greater part of the Oneida removed to a tract on Green Bay, Wis., where they now reside."

Hodge, 1907, Vol. II, p. 123

"Oneida. 'People of the stone.' Named for the Oneida Indians."

Smith, 1930, p. 261

ONEONTA

1. Oneonta Lake, Marinette County.

ONIMISH

1. Onimish Lake, Forest County.

O-NING-AH-MING

1. O-ning-ah-ming, now Portage, Columbia County.

"**O-ning-ah-ming**, 'portage village,' Sauk name for the present town of Portage." Emerson, 1933, p. 36

"O-ning-ah-ming—Portage city. The place is named from the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers. The name means 'a portage.' "

Calkins, 1903, p. 122

ONTARIO

1. Ontario, town in Vernon County.

"Ontario. 'Beautiful lake' or 'beautiful prospect of rocks, hills and water' or 'village on the mountain.' Indian word, tribe unknown."

Smith, 1930, p. 261

ONTONAGON

1. Ontonagon River, rising in Vilas County.

"Ontonagon. 'Fishing place' or 'away goes my fish (in stream).' The Ojibwe word for the river is '**nindonagan-sibi**,' meaning 'fishing-place-river.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 261

OPIGEGANAMA

1. Opigeganama, now Rib, town in Marathon County.
2. Opigeganama-Sibi, now the Rib River, Marathon County.

"Rib,—river, town and hill in Marathon County. Translated from Ojibwe place-name '**opigeganama,**' meaning 'rib.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 263

O-PIC-WUN-A SE-BE

1. O-pic-wun-a Se-be, River, a tributary stream of the Wisconsin River.

'O-pic-wun-a Se-be, Rib River."

Hawkins, 1903, p. 120

OPININKANING

1. Opininkaning Lake, also Potato Lake, Rusk County.

"Opininkaning or 'Potato' Lake."

Brown, 1925, p. 106

OSCEOLA

1. Osceola Township:
   a. Fond du Lac County.
   b. Polk County.
2. Osceola, town in Polk County.
3. Osceola Bluff, in Grant County.
5. Osceola Lake, Polk County.
6. Osceola Island, in the St. Croix River.
7. Osceola Landing, site of former steamboat landing, on the Mississippi.

"Osceola. Though Osceola is the name of a former Florida Seminole chief. The name of the village is probably a corruption of '**asi-yahole**', (black drink halloer), a phrase the Indians used when drinking in turn from a river."

Wisconsin, 1942, p. 433

OSHAUKUTA

1. Oshaukuta, town in Columbia County.

OSHKI-ODENA

1. Oshki-Odena, now Bayfield in Bayfield County.

"Bayfield, in Chippewa, is **Oshki**-(pr. osh-kee)-**Odena**, from **oshki** (new) and **odena**, (town)."

File of Geog. Names

O-SKA-KWA-YAW SA-SE-JE-WUN

1. O-ska-kwa-yaw Sa-se-je-wun, New Wood Rapids, of the Wisconsin River.

"O-ska-kwa-yaw Sa-se-je-wun, meaning 'new wood rapids.'" Hawkins, 1903, p. 121

OS-KA-KI-RA-JAW SE-BE

1. Os-ka-ki-ra-jaw Se-be, now the New Wood River, a tributary of the Wisconsin River.

"Os-ka-ki-ra-jaw Se-be, meaning New Wood River." Hawkins, 1903, p. 120

OSHKOSH

1. Oshkosh, Township in Winnebago County.
2. Oshkosh, city in Winnebago County.
3. Oshkosh Creek, Shawano County.

"Oshkosh. The orthography of the original word Oshkosh was, by some mischance, changed to the present form, Oshkosh. The original was pronounced without the 'h' in the first syllable, and was accented on the last. There is a difference of opinion about the significance of the word, many claiming that it means 'brave.'" Harney, 1880, p. 107

"**Oskos Omanikan** ('Oskosh, his city'), present city of Oshkosh. The name means either a 'claw' or 'brave,' the connection possibly being that in olden times the slayer of a grizzly bear wore its claws in the form of a necklace as a sign of bravery." Skinner, 1921, p. 387

"Oshkosh. 'Nail, or claw' or 'horny part of foot of beasts or birds' in Menomini and Ojibwe. 'Finger nail or claw,' Potawatomi." Smith, 1930, p. 261

"Osh-kosh: a hoof." Witherell, 1857, p. 337

(To this is appended the following footnote by the editor—L. C. Draper—"We believe the invariable definition of the word **Osh-kosh** among the Menomini is 'brave.'")

OSSEO

1. Osseo, town in Trempealeau County.

"Osseo. 'Oso' means 'bear' in Menomini. 'Ossi' means 'stony place' or 'place of stone,' Potawatomi. Longfellow

called Osseo 'Son of the Evening Star' in Hiawatha."

Smith, 1930, p. 261

OSWEGO

1. Oswego Lake:
   a. Oneida County.
   b. Vilas County.

OTSEGO

1. Otsego Township, Columbia County.
2. Otsego, town in Columbia County.

"Otsego. 'Welcome water' or 'place where meetings are held.' Indian word, tribe unknown."

Smith, 1930, p. 261

OTTAWA

1. Ottawa Township, Waukesha County.
2. Ottawa Lake, now Lac Court Oreilles, Sawyer County.

"Ottawa. From **adawe**, 'to trade,' 'to buy and sell,' a term common to the Cree, Algonkin, Nippissing, Ottawa, and Chippewa, and applied to the Ottawa because in early times they were noted as inter-tribal traders and barterers."

"There is a tradition that Lac Court Oreilles was formerly called Ottawa Lake because a band of Ottawa dwelt on its shores, until they were forced to move by attacks of the Sioux."

Hodge, 1907, Vol. II, pp. 167, 169

"Ottawa. From the name of the Indian tribe, which is derived from an obsolete word, **adattawag** (trading people). **Atawe**, of **attawe**, means he trades, he sells."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 396

"Ottawa. The name of an Indian tribe. Was pronounced **Ut-to-wau**, the second syllable being hardly heard."

Waukesha, 1880, p. 378

"Ottawa. 'The traders' from the name of the Ottawa tribe, or **'Odauwaog.'** In Ojibwe **'ottawoke'** means 'his ear,' while **'ottowask'** means 'bulrushes.' The Ottawa clipped the rims of their ears, occasioning the Ojibwe appelation."

Smith, 1930, p. 261

"Ottawa. 'Traders' or 'trading people.' "

Lacher, 1932, p. 851

"Ottawa Sagaigan, in Chippewa, means 'ear lake.' "

File of Geog. Names

OUESTATINONG

1. Ouestatinong, an Outgamie (Fox) village of the Wolf River, in Waupaca County.
2. Ouestatinong, now Leeman, in Outagamie County.

". . . the Outagamie village of Ouestatinong, on the Wolf River, about five miles southwest of New London."

Holland, 1950, p. 312

OUTAGAMIE

1. Outagamie County.

"**O-dug-aum-eeg,** 'opposite-side-people,' best known as the Foxes." Davidson, 1892, p. 439

"Outagamie. The name given by the Chippewas to their ancient enemies, the Foxes. Baraga's orthography is **odagamig**, an adverb meaning 'people living on the other shore (of a river or a lake.' " Verwyst, 1892, p. 396

"Outagamie. 'Those who live on the opposite side of the river,' a name applied to the Fox Indians, or those who lived on the northern Fox River. Ojibwe word '**odagamig**' meaning 'people living on other shore.' Those who lived on the southern Fox River were also called Fox, but in Indian '**Meskwaki**' or 'Red Earth' Indians. In Winnebago,—'I was laying down and telling.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 262

OWEGO

1. Owego, town in Clark County.

OZAUKEE

1. Ozaukee County.

"Ozaukee. A corruption of **ozagig**, 'people living at a river mouth,' pr. o-zau-kee."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 396

"Ozaukee. 'Yellow clay' or 'yellow earth.' Composed of two Sauk words,—'**assauwus**'—yellow, and '**aki**'—earth, since they say that the first Sauk man sprang from yellow earth. 'People living at a river mouth,'—Ojibwe word, '**ozagig.**' "

Smith, 1930, p. 263

PACKWAUKEE

1. Packwaukee Township, Marquette County.
2. Packwaukee, town in Marquette County.
3. Packwaukee Island, in the Fox River, Marquette County.

"Packwaukee. From **Pakwa'we**, Potawatomi for 'it is shallow.'" Skinner, 1926, p. 399

"Packwaukee. Corruption of the Chippewa **bagwaki**, forest opening; pr. **baug-wau-kee.**" Verwyst, 1892, p. 396

"Packwaukee. 'Forest opening,' Ojibwe word **bagwaki**:— forest spring, or thin land, or oak opening. Potawatomi word means 'a hill.'"

Smith, 1930, p. 262

PAH-JE-TAK-A-KE-NING-A-NING

1. Pah-je-tak-a-ke-ning-a-ning:, Big Bull Falls, now called Wausau, on the Wisconsin River.

"Pah-je-tak-a-ke-ning-a-ning: The water that falls over rocks, now known as Big Bull Falls."

Calkins, 1903, p. 122

PACK-WAY-WONG

1. Pack-way-wong Lake, Sawyer County.

PAIAWISIT

1. Paiawisit Lake, Oconto County.

PAKANANO

1. Pakanano, a Menomini village where the Little River joins the Oconto River.

"Pakanano ('branch of a river'). A Menomini village on a long narrow point where the Little River joins the Oconto."

Skinner, 1921, p. 384

PAKOUIJAWIN

1. Big Pakouijawin, and
2. Little Pakouijawin, two bayous or lakes in the Brule River. These may be Yellow Lake and Little Yellow Lake.

"The two Pakouijawins are two bayous or lakes just above the last quick water in Section 21, Township 46, Range 10 W."

Curot, 1911, p. 405

"Pakouyawin may refer in this case to Little Yellow Lake, a kind of backwater or bayou connected with Yellow Lake by the thoroughfare."

Curot, 1911, p. 461

PAKWUKIU

1. Pakwukiu, old Menomini village at present site of Stiles, Oconto County.

"Pakwukiu ('pointed hill')."

Skinner, 1921, p. 384

PA-MA-CHA-MIT

1. Pa-ma-cha-mit, an Indian village of the site of the present city of Oshkosh, Winnebago County.

"Pa-ma-cha-mit, signifies 'the crossing.' "

Harney, 1880, p. 108

PAPOOSE

1. Papoose Lake, Vilas County.

"Papoose. An Indian infant, a child; written also **papoose.** Roger Williams (1643) gives **papoos** as the word for child in the Narraganset dialect of Algonquian. The word papoose has been carried by white settlers to the extreme West."

Hodge, 1907, p. 202

PA-QUA-A-WONG

1. Pa-qua-a-wong, was the Ojibwa Indian name for the locality on the Chippewa River, in Sawyer County, known as The Post, and where an Indian trading post and Indian settlement was for many years located."

Anon., in **Wis. Archeologist,** Vol. 9, No. 2, N. S., p. 129

PASSABIKANG

1. Passabikang, now Red Cliff, Bayfield County.

"There was once an Indian village at Passabikang, Red Cliff."

Verwyst, 1895, p. 432

PAUCQUAUMENICCON

1. Paucquaumeniccon Lake, now Rice Lake, Burnett County.

"Paucquaumenomiccon, or Rice Lake.

Doty, 1876, p. 199

PAUGAWDOWAJ-SEBEWESHANCE

1. Paugawdowaj-Sebeweshance, now Devil Creek, a tributary of the Wisconsin River.

"Pau-gaw-do-waj Se-be-we-shance, Ball Play Creek, now known as Devil Creek."

Hawkins, 1903, p. 120

PAUTO

1. Pauto Lake, Vilas County.

PECATONICA

1. Pecatonica River, La Fayette County.

"In 1823, Major Long, travelling up the Rock River from Kishwaukee, reached a small stream called the '**Pektanons**,' a diminutive of **Pektanon**, a neighboring stream into which it discharges itself a few miles below. In 1831, Henry Gratiot writes of the Winnebago at the mouth of the 'pe-ke-tol-e-ke.' "

Jipson, 1923, p. 131

PEENA

1. Peena, now Pheasant, Branch, at the northwest of Lake Mendota, Dane County.
2. Bena, town in Bayfield County. ,

"The name of the partridge in Ojibwa is **Pee-nan**."

Laidlaw, 1922, p. 34

"**Bena** in Chippewa is **Bine**, a partridge."

File of Geog. Names

PE-JI-BO-NAU-GAN-ING

1. Pe-ji-bo-nau-gan-ing, an Indian village, on the Sheboygan River, four miles above its mouth, in Sheboygan County.

"Between Seeley Hill and Follett's Creek on one side and another prominent bank about one-half mile to the west is a large, flat area. Situated probably more on the western side of this so-called prairie, on both sides of the Sheboygan River, was the largest historic Indian village in Sheboygan county. This village was known as **Pe-ji-bo-nau-gan-ing**, meaning 'fish dam,' as the Indians had constructed a dam in the river at this point for catching fish."

Gerend, 1920, p. 141

PEMBINE

PEM-BON-WON

1. Pembine Township, Marinette County.
2. Pembine, town in Marinette County.
3. Pem-bon-won River, Pembine township, Marinette County.

"Pembine, (Ind., waterberries)."

Wisconsin, 1941, p. 333

"Pembine. 'Cranberries.' Cree word, 'nipimina' means 'water berries.' Potawatomi word '**piembien**' means 'where you go to sleep.'"

Smith, 1930, p. 262

PEMENE

1. Pemene Falls, on the Menominee River, Marinette County.

"Pe-me-ne Falls, ('elbow'), which received its name from a bend in the river."

Schubert, 1950, pp. 71-72

PE NEY WE SE DA INK

1. Pe ney we se da ink, old Potawatomi Indian village north of Cato, Manitowoc County.

"The name of the Potawatomi village north of Cato was **Pe ne we se da ink**, Partridge Feet."

Lawson, 1920, p. 55

PENOKEE

1. Penokee, town in Ashland County.
2. Penokee Iron Range, Iron and Ashland Counties.
3. Penokee Gap.

"Penokee, a corruption of the Chippewa word '**pewabic**,' meaning iron." Burnham, 1930, p. 160

"Penokee, a corruption of the Chippewa **opinikan** (wild potato ground), pr. **o-pee-nee-kan**." Verwyst, 1892, p. 396

"Penokee. 'Land of potatoes.' From two Ojibwe words, 'Opin'—potato, and 'aki'—land." Smith, 1930, p. 262

"Penokee originated in a printer's mistake for Pewabic,—a Chippewa word meaning iron." Lawson, 1906, p. 41

"The western-most end of the Gogebic Range, known as the Penokee, was named by a surveyor, Charles Whittlesey. He called it 'Pewabic,' Indian for iron, but the compositor misread the name and set it up in type as Penokie. It has also been suggested that Penokee is merely a corruption of **opinikan**, (Ind. wild potato ground.).

Wisconsin, 1941, p. 345

PENSAUKEE

1. Pensaukee Township, Oconto County.
2. Pensaukee, town in Oconto County.
3. Pensaukee River, Oconto County.
4. Pensaukee Lake, Shawano County.

"Apa'sakiu ('brant (goose) land'), now called Pensaukee. There was an old Menomini village at the mouth of this creek."

Skinner, 1921, p. 385

"Pensaukee. Corruption of Chippewa **pindjsagi**, (inside the mouth of a river), pr. **pindj-sau-gee**." Verwyst, 1892, p. 396

"Pensaukee. 'Inside the mouth of a river,' from Ojibwe word '**pindjsagi**.'"

Smith, 1930, p. 262

PE-QUA-BIK-AU-SE-BE

1. Pe-qua-bik-au Se-be, now the Copper River, a tributary of the Wisconsin River.

"Pe-qua-bik-au Se-be, 'Rocky River,' better known as Copper River."

Hawkins, 1903, p. 120

PEQUAN WONG

1. Pequanwong Lake, Sawyer County.

"Sawyer county, Hunter township. Cemetery on both banks of the Chippewa river at the Chippewa village of 'The Post' (Pe-quan-wong)."

Brown, 1925, p. 114

PESHEU

1. Pesheu Island, later Garlic Island, now Island Park, in Lake Winnebago.
2. Pesheu, now Wild Cat Mound, in Sauk County.

"This mound the Winnebago called **Pesheu**, a wild cat."

Brown, 1938, p. 20

"On Island Park, in Lake Winnebago was formerly located the Winnebago village of that redoubtable Indian warrior, '**Pe-Sheu**,' or Wild-Cat. The early name of the island and village, 'Pe-Sheu's Village,' was derived from this source."

Lawson, 1903, p. 60

PESHTIGO

1. Peshtigo Township, Marinette County.
2. Peshtigo, town in Marinette County.
3. Peshtigo Harbor, town in Marinette County.
4. Peshtigo River.
5. Peshtigo Lake, Forest County.

"**Apa'sitik Se-peu**. (Meaning lost; possibly connected with **Apa'sos**, deer). Peshtigo River. **Apa'sitikgo**, Peshtigo City. Meaning of name lost." Skinner, 1921, p. 386

"Peshtigo. 'Rapids,' Potawatomi word, '**peshettikong**.' 'Wild goose river,' tribe unknown."

Smith, 1930, p. 262

PEWAUKEE

1. Pewaukee Township, Waukesha County.
2. Pewaukee, town in Waukesha County.
3. Pewaukee Lake, Waukesha County.
4. Pewaukee Creek, Waukesha County.

"Interpretations of Indian place names may vary, as many as five different meanings being given to a single one. Pewaukee is a case in point. There are: 'snail lake,' 'shell lake,' 'flinty place', 'timber opening' and 'swampy.' The early settlers called it 'Snail Lake' from the start, to which Dr. Lapham takes exception, insisting that it was really **Pewaukee-wee-ning**, meaning lake of shells, 'so named by the Indians on account of the great quantity of small shells found in the sand along the shore.' Since there was an Indian village at the then swampy end of the lake, Father Verwyst's statement that it is a corruption of **nibiwaki** (swampy), (pronounced **nee-bee-waukee**), seems plausible. He says that the Indians frequently slur or swallow the first syllable of a word, and interchange P and B, K and G, T and D, indifferently."

Lacher, 1932, p. 851

"Pewaukee, called by the Indians **Pewauk-ee-we-nink.**"
Waukesha, 1880, p. 778

"Pewaukee. Corruption of Chippewa **nibiwaki** (swampy)."
Verwyst, 1892, p. 396

Pewaukee is from **Pee-wauk-ee-win-ick,** which means a 'dusty place.' Dr. I. A. Lapham, in 1843, was the first to assail the vulgar translation of 'Snail Lake.' Had the Pottawatomie intended to name that body of water 'Snail Lake' it would have been called 'Nee-nahs.' " Waukesha, 1880, p. 378

"Pewaukee. **Peewaunawkee**, a 'flinty place; '**Pewaukee-neening**, or **Pewaukeenee,** 'lake of shells, or snail lake; **Nibi-wuhkih**, 'watery or soggy ground.' " Forsbeck, 1936, p. 101
also Brown, 1930, p. 40

"Pewaukee. 'Lake of shells' or 'flinty place,' from Indian word 'piwanaki.' 'Carrying by tump line,' Ojibwe word.' 'Swampy,' corruption of Ojibwe word '**nibiwak.**' "
Smith, 1930, p. 262

"Pee-wau-kee—pronounced, and should be spelled, **Pee-wau-naw-kee**: the flinty place." Witherell, 1857, p. 377

"Pewaukee:—The name of the lake is said to be a corruption of the Potawatomi name **Pee wauk ee win-ick**, meaning 'the dusty place.' " Lawson, 1920, p. 66

"Pewaukee is from **pewauki**, (a timber opening, or scattered wood), which has been triflingly corrupted."
Vieau, 1900, p. 468

PICK QUA ME NIS

1. Pick qua me nis, now Fish Gut Island, east of Washington Island. Door County.

"Fish Gut Island was **Pick qua me nis.**"
Schumacher, 1918, p. 144

"The Potawatomi named Fish Gut Island **Pekqua-ge-me-nis.**"
Lawson, 1920, p. 48

PIKWUKUNOA OMANĪKUN

1. Pikwukunao Omanikun, (A Menomini village now called Satterlee, in Oconto County.

"**Pikwukunao Omanikun** ('outdone in shooting town'). Named for an old Menomini chief. The 'shooting' referred to

here is that act (so-called) as performed with otter-skin medicine bags inside the medicine lodge."

Skinner, 1921, p. 390

PINAO WIKO

1. Pinao Wiko Lake, the Menomini name for Partridge Crop Lake, Waupaca County.

"**Pinao Wiko** ('partridge crop'), the present Partridge Crop Lake."

Skinner, 1921, p. 388

PISHTAKA

1. Pishtaka, now Fox River, Waukesha County.

"The Pishtaka, or Fox, River.

Brown, 1923, p. 8

POCQUAYAHWAN

1. Pocquayahwan Lake, in Douglas County.

POKEGAMA

1. Pokegama Junction, town in Douglas County.
2. Pokegama Lake:
    a. Barron County.
    b. Burnett County.
    c. Washburn County.
    d. Vilas County.
3. Pokegama (or Rock) Creek, Barron County.

"Pokegama lake, signifying 'a lake having bays branching off.'" Upham, 1908, p. 122

"Pocagamah, a Chippewa word said to signify 'a confluence.'" Brown and Becker, 1917, p. 122

"Bakagama (lake, Wis.)—Bakegama (branch lake; i. e., of a larger lake which is a branch or part of another, generally of a larger lake). pr. **bau-kai-gau-mau.**"

Verwyst, 1892, p. 391

"Pokegama is said by E. P. Wheeler (whose manuscript, 'Chippewa Vocabulary,' is in the possession of the state historical society) to be corrupted from '**bu-ka-gum-ma**'—the river divides." Brown and Becker, 1917, p. 84

"Pokegama. 'Branch lake,' from Ojibwe word '**bakegama,**'

meaning a lake which is a branch of another.''

Smith, 1930, p. 262

''Buh-ka-gun-ma—'the water that turns off to one side.' Refers more naturally to a branch stream than a lake.''

File of Geog. Names

POTAWATOMI

1. The Potawatomi Islands, the islands at the head of the peninsula entrance to Green Bay.
2. Potawatomi Island, off Door County.
3. Potawatomi Bay, Door County.
4. Potawatomi State Park, Door County.

''There is a tradition that the Potawatomi, Ottawa and Chippewa (Ojibway) were in the last one nation situated about the straits of Michilimackinac. On separating the Potawatomi moved off about the shore of Lake Michigan, carrying with them and perpeuating the national fire, which tradition says was sacredly kept burning by them throughout primitive days; thereby they have obtained the name of 'those who make or keep the fire,' or 'people of the place of fire,' which is the literal meaning of their tribal name.''

Lawson, 1920, p. 42

POUACK

1. Pouack, now Crooked Lake, Waukesha County.

''Crooked. **Pouack** Lake.—Lapham.''

Brown, 1930, p. 40

POYGAN

1. Poygan Township, Winnebago County.
2. Lake Poygan, in Winnebago and Waushara Counties.

''Poygan. 'Pipe.' Ojibwe word 'Opawagon.' ''

Smith, 1930, p. 262

''The name, Poygan, a Menomini word, was originally Pwa-a-con-nee, and meant 'threshing place' for wild rice).''

Overton, 1931, p. 60

''L. B. Porlier is quoted as referring to Lake Poygan as follows: 'When I was a young man I was sent by the firm on an errand to the Pwa-a-Khane (Poygan) Lake.' ''

Overton, 1944, p. 45

''**Pawahikane** ('where wild rice is gathered'). Lake Poy-

gan. The Menomini lived about this body of water in relatively recent times."

Skinner, 1921, p. 388

"Poygan. Vincent Roy, an intelligent Chippewa, thinks the word a corruption of **opwagan**, (pipe), pr. **op-wau-gan.**"

Verwyst, 1892, p. 396

POYSIPPI

1. Poysippi Township, Waushara County.
2. Poysippi, town in Waushara County.

"Poy Sippi—Corruption of **Bwan sibi** (Sioux River), pr. **bwan-see-pee. Bwan** is Chippewa for Sioux, and **sibi** for river."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 396

"Poysippi. 'Running into Lake Poygan.' From the Indian word '**poygansibi.**' 'Sioux River,' corruption of '**bwan sibi.**' Ojibwe word for Sioux was '**bwan.**' Ojibwe word 'opwagan' —pipe; 'sibi'—river. The river at this place is shaped like a pipe."

Smith, 1930, p. 262

PUCHYAN

1. Puchyan River, from the north shore of Green Lake to Fox River, in Green Lake County.

PUCKAWAY

1. Puckaway Lake, Green Lake County.
2. Apukwa Lake, in northern Wisconsin.

"Puckaway. From the Chippewa **Bokawe**, (pr. **bo-kau-wai**), an Indian supposed to have formerly lived on its shores."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 396

"The mounds examined by me along the Apuchwa and Buffalo lakes." Lapham, 1855, p. 64

"Apukwa, 'Slippery.' A Menomini word."

Smith, 1930, p. 254

"Puckaway. 'Cattail flag.' Perhaps a contradiction of '**bokuhnzawa,**' meaning unclean disease.' From Bokawe, an Ojibwe Indian, formerly residing there."

Smith, 1930, p. 263

"Apuk'wa, a bulrush."

Glossary, "Song of Hiawatha"

PUG-GO-NAH-GA-MOG-KO-KING-NA-YA-SHING

1. Pug-go-nah-ga-mog-ko-king-na-ya-shing, or Norway Pine Point, south of the mouth of the Black River, Sheboygan County.

"The point south of the mouth of the Black River was known by the Indians as **Pug-go-nah-ga-mog-ko-king-na-ya-shing**, or Norway Pine Point."

Gerend, 1920, p. 152

PUK-WOTH-SIC

1. Puk-woth-sic, now Muskego Center, Waukesha County.

"What is now known as Muskego Center was called by the Indians, **Puk-woth-sic**; a 'high piece of ground; a hill.' The word should be uttered with the chief accent on the third syllable."

Waukesha, 1880, p. 378

PUTCI'WIKIT

1. Putci'wikit, Menomini for the bay of Lake Michigan we now call Green Bay.

"Putci'wikit, or Puji'kit ('a bay in spite of itself,' or 'a bay in spite of everything') Green Bay."

Skinner, 1921, p. 386

QUINNESEC

1. Big Quinnesec Falls, on the Menominee River, in Marinette County.
2. Little Quinnesec Falls, on the Menominee River.

"The name, Quin-ne-sec, is derived from what the Indians take to be smoke, and which is seen continually ascending from the bottom of the torrent high into the air. This smoke, of course, is but the spray."

Schubert, 1950, p. 71

SAGOLE

1. Sagole, town in Outagamie County.

"Sagole. 'Sagole' is the word used by the Oneida Indian men in greeting each other. For women the greeting is 'sagu.'"

Smith, 1930, p. 263

SA-HOO-CHA-TE-LA

1. Sa-hoo-cha-te-la Lake, now Lake Waubesa, Dane County.

"Oliver Lemere communicated the following information to Dr. N. W. Jipson, the well-known investigator of Winnebago history: 'The third lake (Waubesa) is called 'Sa-hoocha-te-la,' meaning 'rushes lake.' " Brown, 1922, p. 122

SAKAEGAN

1. Sakaegan Lake, Sauk name for Pewaukee Lake, Waukesha County.

"The weight of the evidence points out the present Pewaukee Lake as the ancient Lake Sakaegan. Baraga's **Chippewa Dictionary** informs us that **Sagaigan** means Little Lake. **Sakaegan** is unquestionably a corruption or variation of **Sagaigan,** a slight change not uncommon in an unwritten aboriginal language. The Sauks preserved its original name. The terminal **-gan**, or **-goma**, or **gama,** according to Schoolcraft and other authorities, signifies 'a body of water.' "

Draper, 1909, p. 134

SAKEMAO WATENA

1. Sakemao Watena, an old Menomini site on the Wolf River, near New London, Waupaca County.

"**Sakemao Watena,** (mosquito hill')."

Skinner, 1921, p. 388

SANAWENINO USNANINA

1. Sanawenino Usnanina, an old Menomini site now called Suring, Oconto County.

"Sanawenino Usnanina,—'three rivers forking.' "

Skinner, 1921, p. 385

SANDUSKY

1. Sandusky, town in Sauk County.

"Sandusky. (Huron); **Otsaandosti,**—'cool water.' "

Hodge, 1907, p. —

SARATOGA

1. Saratoga Township:
   a. Wood County.
   b. Portage County .
2. New Saratoga Springs, town in St. Croix County.

(Saratoga, of Iroquoian derivation, was originally proposed as a name for the state before 'Wisconsin' was chosen.—H. W. K.)

SAUK

1. Sauk County.
2. Sauk City, in Sauk County.
3. Prairie du Sac Township, Sauk County.
4. Prairie du Sac, town in Sauk County.
5. Sauk Bluffs.
6. Sauk Harbor.
7. Sauk Prairie.
8. Sauk Washington, early name for Port Washington.
9. Sauk Rapids, on the Rock River.
10. Sauk Creek, in Ozaukee County.
11. Saukville, Township, Ozaukee County.
12. Saukville, town in Ozaukee County.

"Sauk. A corruption of the Chippewa **ozagig**, 'people living at the river mouth.' " Verwyst, 1892, p. 396

"Sauk. The name Sauk is variously translated. The sign used in the sign language means 'something sprouting up,' which is frequently given as the meaning of the name. However, the more popular translation is 'yellow earth' as opposed to 'red earth,' the proper name of the Muskwaki, or Fox. Some even say that in former times the Sauk painted in yellow ochre and the Fox in red. The translation 'yellow earth' agrees with the explanation given by the Menomini and others of their Algonkian neighbors."

Skinner, 1922, p. 10

"Sauk. 'Yellow earth.' Name of Sauk tribe from **asauwus** —yellow, and aki, earth."

Smith, 1930, p. 263

SCUPPERNONG

1. Scuppernong River, Jefferson County.
2. Scuppernong Creek, Dane County.

SENECA

1. Seneca Township:
    a. Crawford County.
    b. Green Lake County.
    c. Shawano County.
    d. Wood County.
2. Seneca, town in Crawford County.

3. Seneca Lake, Vilas County.

"Seneca—('a place of stone') a prominent tribe of Iroquois."

Hodge, 1907, Vol. II, p. 502

SESCAWNAWBEKAW

1. Sescawnawbekaw River, a small stream between the Mauvais and Brule Rivers, emptying into Lake Superior, in Bayfield County.

SESIPUKETAHE'KONE

1. Sesipuketahe'kone, now Duck Creek, town in Brown County.

"Sesipuketahe'kone ('ducks landing from flight') now Duck Creek, a place famous in Menomini folklore."

Skinner, 1921, p. 386

SHANAKOONEBIN

1. Shanakoonebin Lake, now North Lake, Waukesha County.

"**Shanakoonebin**, also **Shunakee**,—'south cloud water.'"

Lacher, 1932, p. 851

"Lapham gives the Indian name of North Lake as Shunakee. This name Simon Kahquados believes to be a shortening of the Potawatomi name **Shanakoonebis**, meaning 'south cloud water.' Shanakoo was a Potawatomi chief whose village was at this lake. John Blackhawk says that the name may have been derived from the Winnebago word **chunaka**, or 'the blue one.' North Lake once bore his name (Potawatomi chief Shanakoo's) name, Shanakoonebin, or 'south cloud water.' **Shunakee** is a slight distortion of this name."

Brown, 1930, pp. 20-21; 36

SHANNAWAN

1. Shannawan Creek, in Lincoln County.

"Shannawan is probably a Chippewa word as this tribe had a village at the mouth of Shannawan Creek."

Brown, 1925, p. 69

SHARBONA

1. Port Sharbona, town in Shawano County.

SHAWANO

1. Shawano County.
2. Shawano, city in Shawano County.
3. Shawano Lake, Shawano County.

"Shawano. Baraga's orthography is **jawanong**, 'in the south.' The English 'Shawnee' is a corrupt form of the same Indian word, meaning southern people."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 397

"Shawano. 'On the south' or 'place of the south,' Ojibwe word '**jawano**.' Potawatomi word, '**shawano**' also means south."

Smith, 1930, p. 263

SHEBOYGAN

1. Sheboygan County.
2. Sheboygan, city in Sheboygan County.
3. Sheboygan Township, Sheboygan County.
4. Sheboygan River.
5. Sheboygan Falls, town in Sheboygan County.
6. Sheboygan Marsh, Sheboygan County.
7. Cheboygan Bay.

"Sheboygan. From **jibaigan**, any perforated object, as a pipe stem." Verwyst, 1892, p. 397

"She-boy-gan: a hollow bone." Witherell, 1857, p. 337

"Sheboygan, or Che-boig-an of the early maps, is from the Indian name **Shawb-wa-way-kum**, half-accent on the first, and full accent on the third syllable; the word or sentence (most likely Chippewa) expresses a tradition that a great noise, coming underground from the region of Lake Superior, was heard at this river." Hathaway, 1903, p. 117

"The Potawatomi residing in Forest County still speak of Sheboygan by the Indian name, **Shab-wa-wa-goning**. To it has been ascribed many meanings such as 'rumbling waters' and 'waters disappearing underground.' Simon Kahquados translated the meaning as 'going or passing through the drumming.' "

Gerend, 1920, p. 134

"Sheboygan. 'Perforated object like a pipe stem;' Ojibwe word, '**jibaigan.**' Word '**jawwawe**' referred to a great noise coming underground from the region of Lake Superior and heard at this place." Smith, 1930, p. 262

"Sheboygan. Indian name signifying 'an underground noise from toward Lake Superior, was heard at this river.' Chippewa name, **Che-boi-gan.**" Emerson, 1933, p. 20

"It is believed that the Chippewa named the river **Shawb-wa-way-gun,** Ind., wind, or rumbling underground, because of the rushing sound of the falls three miles upstream." Wisconsin, 1941, p. 284

SHE-GAH-KUK-WISH SEBE

1. She-gah-kuk-wish Sebe, now the Onion River, Sheboygas County.

"The Indian name for the Onion River was She-gah-kuk-wish Sebe." Gerend, 1920, p. 166

SHE-SHEG-E-MA-WE-SHE-CAN SEBE

1. She-sheg-e-ma-we-she-can Sebe, now Big Eau Pleine River, tributary of the Wisconsin, in Marathon County.

"She-sheg-e-ma-we-she-can Sebe, Soft Maple River, now known as Eau Pleine, or Full Water." Hawkins, 1903, p. 120

SHESHKO WABSHKOKE

1. Sheshko Wabshkoke, the former march at the southern end of Pine Lake, Waukesha County.

"The former marshland at the southern end of Pine Lake furnished good muskrat hunting for the Indians and was known by them as **Sheshko Wabshkoke,**—'muskrat marsh.' " Brown, 1920, p. 28

SHINGWACK

1. Shingwack Creek, now Little Pine Creek, a tributary of the Wisconsin River.
2. Shingwack Sebe, now Pine River, near Poysippi, Waushara County.

"Shin-gwack se-be, 'pine river.' in Chippewa." Emerson, 1933, p. 83

"Shin-gwack Se-be, Pine River. Shin-gwack Se-be-we-shance, Little Pine Creek."

Hawkins, 1903, p. 120

SHIOC

SHIOCTON

1. Shioc River, in Outagamie and Shawano Counties.
2. Shiocton, town in Outagamie County.

"**Manomane Saiak** ('wild rice along the banks'), Shiocton, site of a recent Menomoni settlement."

Skinner, 1921, p. 388

"Shiocton. Corruption of **ajeatan** ('it floats upstream,—by force of wind'), pr. **au-shai-au-tan.**"

Verwyst, 1892, p. 397

"Shiocton. 'It floats up stream—by force of wind,' corruption of Ojibwe word '**ajeatan.**' " Smith, 1930, p. 263

SHOHETAKA

1. Shohetaka Hill, now Eagle Heights, in Dane County.

"At Madison, on the south side of Lake Mendota, is Eagle Heights, a wooded hill. In the early thirties this hill was known to the local Winnebago as **Shohetaka**, meaning 'horse-hill.' " Brown, 1938, p. 17

"Eagle Heights, northwest of the campus (at Madison, Wis.) is the highest elevation on the south shore of Lake Mendota and a significant spot in Winnebago Indian history. The Indians, who called this area '**Sho-heta-ka**' or 'horse hill,' went there to fast and gain inspiration from the spirit horse thought to live there. Three large Indian mounds are on the crest of the hill."

Milwaukee **Journal**, Jan. 14, 1951, p. 16

SHOONEAH

1. Shooneah Lake, now Silver Lake,
   a. Waukesha County.
   b. Washington County.

"**Shooneah**, or **Joniia**—'silver.' " Lacher, 1932, p. 851

"Silver Lake—Joniia, or Shooneah, 'silver.' "

Brown, 1930, p. 40

SHQUAK MINESHE

1. Shquak Mineshe, now Sands Island, in Pine Lake, Waukesha County.

"The Indian name for Sands Island is given as **Shquak mineshe**, taking its name from the pine trees."

Brown, 1930, p. 27

SINISSIPPI

1. Sinissippi Lake, Dodge County.
2. Sinsepe, now the Rock River.

"The Rock River was called **Sinsepe** by the Algonquins, having the same meaning with the English name."

Butler, 1888, p. 66

SINSINAWA

1. Sinsinawa, town is Grant County.
2. Sinsinawa Creek, Grant County.
3. Sinsinawa Mound, Grant County.

"Sinsinawa. Ind., **jinawe**, home of the young eagle."

Wisconsin, 1941, p. 559

"Sinsinawa Mound, an eminence near Hazel Green. The name '**jinawe**' in the Algonquian tongue means 'rattlesnake,' and is said to have been given to it long ago because of its being, like many other hills and bluffs in southern Wisconsin, once infested with these poisonous reptiles. Because of its many snakes, Sinsinawa has acquired its sinister name."

Brown, 1938, p. 19

SIOUX

1. Sioux, town in Bayfield County.
2. Sioux River, in Ashland County.
3. Sioux Creek, in Barron County.

"Sioux. 'Little snakes, or enemies.' Ojibwe word, **nadowessioux**,' from which whites elided the first three syllables."

Smith, 1930, p. 263

SISKOWITT

1. Siskowitt Bay, in Lake Superior.
2. Siskowitt River, Bayfield County.
3. Siskowitt Lake, Bayfield County.

"Siskowit. From **siskawit**,—very fat lake trout."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 397

"Siskiwitt. 'Kind of fish resembling trout.' Probably cisco. 'Very fat lake trout,' from Ojibwe '**siskawit.**' "

Smith, 1930, p. 263

SISSABOGAMA

1. Sissabogama Lake, Sawyer County.
2. Shishebogama Lake, Oneida and Vilas Counties.

"Sissabogama lake, meaning 'the lake with arms running in all directions."

Upham, 1908, p. 122

SKANAWAN

1. Skanawan Township, Lincoln County.
2. Skanawan Lake, Lincoln County.
3. Skanawan Creek, Lincoln County.

"Skanawano—Weshance. 'Creek that runs through bluffs,' Ojibwe word." Smith, 1930, p. 263

"Skan-a-wong Se-be-we-shance. 'The creek that runs through bluffs.' "

Hawkins, 1903, p. 120

SLUKUNDY

1. Slukundy Falls, on the west branch of the Wolf River. Menomini Indian Reservation, Shawano County.

SOMO

1. Somo Township, Lincoln County.
2. Somo Lake, Lincoln County.
3. Somo River, Lincoln County.
4. Somo Creek, Lincoln County.

Somo. Mentioned as of Indian origin, meaning and tribe unknown.

Derleth, 1942, p. 40

SQUASH

1. Squash Lake, Oneida County.

"Squash. Roger Williams (Key to the Languages of America, 1643) says: '**Askutasquash**, their vine-apples, which the English call from them squashes.' **Askutasquash** signifies 'little vegetables eaten green.' "

Hodge, 1907, p. 629

SQUAW

1. Squaw Lake:
   a. Langlade County.
   b. Oneida County.
   c. Outagamie County.
   d. Sawyer County.
   e. St. Croix County.
2. Squaw Bay, in Lake Superior, off Bayfield County.

"Squaw. An Indian woman. From the Naragansett **sqaw**, probably an abbreviation of **eskaw.**"

Hodge, 1907, p. 629

SUAMICO

1. Suamico Township, Brown County.
2. Suamico, town in Brown County.
3. Suamico River.
4. Little Suamico, Township, Oconto County.
5. Little Suamico, town in Oconto County.
6. Big Suamico Station, town in Brown County.
7. Big Suamico Lake.
8. Little Suamico Lake.
9. West Suamico, town in Brown County.

"Suamico. Corruption of the Chippewa **ossawamigong**, (place of the yellow beaver)." Verwyst, 1892, p. 397

"**Suamakosa** ('little sand-bar'), Little Suamico. An ancient Menomini camp ground. Skinner, 1921, p. 385

"Suamico. Site of the early Sauk Indian village of **Oussauamigono.**" Brown, 1925, p. 20

"**Matc Suamako** or **Sakauamako** ('great sand-bar'), now Big Suamico. An ancient Menomini village site of large extent is situated at the mouth of the river and along the lake shore. The site is famous in Menomini folklore, mythology, and history." Skinner, 1921, p. 385

"Big Suamico, in Chippewa, is **Kitchi Jawamikong**, 'big yellow beaver,' from **kitchi** (big), **osawa** (yellow), **amika** (beaver), and **ong**, meaning (the place of)."

File of Geog. Names

"The Indian name **Oussuamigong**, now spelled Suamico, has several disputed meanings. Father Chrysostom Verwyst explains the name as meaning 'place of the yellow beaver.' Father Jones as 'at the beaver's tail.' Rev. E. P. Wheeler, of Ashland, says it means 'yellow beaver residence place.' It has also been accepted that it means 'point or tail of land,' or 'the beaver's tail,' which suits us best as the Indians called one point 'long tail' and the other 'little tail,' having reference to the points of land on the shore, first the long and then the shorter one farther north." Johnstone, 1928, p. 21

TAH-KIP NEE-PEESH

1. Tah-kip Nee-peesh, the springs at Waukesha, in Waukesha County.

"The springs at Waukesha were called **tah-kip nee-peesh** (takib nibish) means spring water. Brown, 1923, p. 70

TAH-SO-SO-WIN-ING SEBE

1. Tah-so-so-win-ing Sebe, now the Trap River, a tributary of the Wisconsin River.

"Tah-so-so-win-ing Sebe, Dead Fall River, now known as the Trap River."

Hawkins, 1930, p. 120

TA-KE-BIN

1. Ta-ke-bin Springs, formerly at the head of the Williams Bay Marsh, Lake Geneva, Walworth County.

"At the head of the Williams Bay Marsh were a number of springs about which the Indians formerly camped. Their name for these springs was **Ta-ke-bin**."

Brown and Brown, 1928, p. 199

TAHKODAH

1. Tahkodah Lake, Bayfield County.

TA-WAH-CUN-CHUK-DAH

1. Ta-wah-cun-chuk-dah Lake, now Devil's Lake, Sauk County.

"Devil's Lake, called **Ta-wah-cun-chuk-dah** (Sacred Lake) by the Winnebago Indians, was to them a water of mystery, the abode of water demons, **wa-kja-kee-ra**."

Brown, 1938, p. 10

TAYCHEEDAH

1. Taycheedah Township, Fond du Lac County.
2. Tahcheedah, town in Fond du Lac County.
3. Taycheedah Creek, Fond du Lac County.

"Taycheedah. 'Lake camp.' '**Tacida**' in Winnebago means 'camp by a lake.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 264

TAYCHOPERA

1. Taychopera, Winnebago for the Four Lakes region about Madison, Dane County.

"I was informed both that **Taychoperah** was the collective Indian name for the Four Lakes, and that the name also signifies Four Lakes. The name is a Winnebago word. I was eager to ascertain what part of the word Taychoperah signifies 'lake' and what part 'four.' I found what I sought in Gallatin's **Synopsis of the Indian Tribes.** In that work, the Winnebago name for Lake is **Tahhah**, and the name for four is **tshopiwi**. These elements readily combine in Taychoperah."

Butler, 1888, p. 65

"Taychopera. Probably the first name which these lakes bore was the inclusive Indian one, taking in not only the bodies of water, but the general region around them of which they were the striking feature. It is clearly a Winnebago word, and means 'the four lakes.' Among the manuscripts of the Wisconsin State Historical Society we have several Winnebago word lists which make it sufficiently evident that **tay** means lake, and **Chope** means four. Other sources indicate that **rah** or **ra** is the definite article. Main stress is on the second syllable."

Cassidy, 1945, pp. 8-9.

TAY-MAH-A-HAH-RAH

1. Tay-mah-a-hah-rah Lake, now Rock Lake, Jefferson County.

"John Farmer's 'Map of the Territories of Michigan and Ouisconsin,' published in 1830, gives the Winnebago name of Rock Lake as '**Tay-mah-a-hah-rah.**' Oliver Le Mere informs the writer that the same signifies 'muddy lake.' "

Brown, 1926, p. 103

TCHEEGASCOUTAK

1. Tcheegascoutak, Indian village on the site of Waukesha city in Waukesha County.

"The Indian village on the site of Waukesha was called **Tcheegascoutak**, meaning 'burnt, or fire land,' because the open land thereabouts was frequently ravaged by prairie fires."

Lacher, 1932, p. 851

"The Indian village which stood where Waukesha now stands was **Tchee-gas-cou-tak**; accent on the final syllable, the 'a' of which should sound like 'a' in aster. Its meaning was 'burnt' or 'fire-land.' Prairie country near Waukesha, and according to the Pottawatomies it was much frequented by fires, as is common to all prairies; hence its name,—burnt or prairie-land."

Waukesha, 1880, p. 378

"Tcheegascoutak. Of these early Potawatomi villages the largest was located on the present site of the city of Waukesha. Its Indian name was **Tcheegascoutak**, meaning 'burnt, or fire-land,' a name given it because the broad prairie lands in its vicinity were frequently ravaged by prairie fires. The chief of this village was Wakusha, the Potawatomi name for 'a fox.'"

Brown, 1930, p. 41

TCHEE-GAS-COU-TAK SEEPE

1. Tchee-gas-cou-tak Seepe, now the Fox or Pishtaka River, Waukesha County.

"Fox River. **Wauk-tsha Seepe** below Mukwanago; above that point it was **Tchee-gas-cou-tak Seepe**, or 'Fire River;' also Pishtaka."

Waukesha, 1880, p. 378

TCHEE-HA-BO-KEE-HA-KAY-TA-LA

1. Tchee-ha-bo-kee-ha-kay-ta-la Lake, now Lake Monona, Dane County.

"Oliver Le Mere informed Dr. N. W. Jipson that the Winnebago called Lake Monona **'Tchee-ha-bo-kee-ha-kay-ta-la,'** meaning 'tepee lake.'"

Brown, 1922, p. 122

TELULAH

1. Telulah Springs, in the S. E. ¼ of Sec. 25, in the present city of Appleton, on the south bank of the Fox River, in Grand Chute Township, Outagamie County.

TEPEE

1. Tepee Lake, Vilas County.

TEWEIGANING

1. Teweiganing, now Drummond, town in Bayfield County.

"Teweiganing, in Chippewa, means 'at, to, from the drum; **teweigan**, a drum.' "

File of Geog. Names

TICHIGAN

1. Tichigan, town in Racine County.
2. Tichigan Lake, Racine County.

"Lake Tichigan (Tish-shar-gan)."

Brown, 1925, p. 100

TI-CHO-RA

1. Ti-cho-ra, Now Green Lake, Green Lake County.
2. Tecura Springs, at Green Lake.

"The Winnebago who dwelt on its shores are said to have given to Green Lake the name 'Ti-cho-ra,' **tira** meaning lake and **Cho**, green. The name is descriptive of the clear green color of its waters."

Brown, 1917, p. 1

TIOGA

1. Tioga, town in Clark County.

TIPPECANOE

1. Tippecanoe, town in Milwaukee County.
2. Tippecanoe Lake, Vilas County.

TKEPMBES

1. Tkepmbes, now Chenequa Springs on Pine Lake, Waukesha County.

"On the Pine Lake shore, at the base of the high wooded bank a short distance north of the Chenequa Springs hotel, are several fine springs. These springs the Potawatomi knew

and used . . . their name for these is reported to have been **Tkepmbes**, or "springs at the lake.' "

Brown, 1930, p. 24

TOMAH

1. Tomah Township, Monroe County.
2. Tomah. town in Monroe County.
3. North Tomah, town in Monroe County.

"Tomah, named for famous Menomini chief, Tomah."

Smith, 1930, p. 264

TOMAHAWK

1. Tomahawk Township, Lincoln County.
2. Tomahawk, town in Lincoln County.
3. Tomahawk Lake Township, Oneida County.
4. Tomahawk Lake, town in Oneida County.
5. Tomahawk Lake:
    a. Lincoln County.
    b. Bayfield County.
    c. Oneida County.
6. Tomahawk River, Lincoln County.

"Tomahawk. 'Strike them.' Ojibwe word 'otamahuk.' Indian hatchet was called **tomahawk** or **tomahican.**"

Smith, 1930, p. 264

"Tomahawk. The name applied to a weapon of a group of weapons in common use among the Algonquian tribes of the eastern United States. The early writers of Virginia cite the word from the dialect of that region as **tomahick, tomahack, tamahake**, etc.; the Delaware dialect has **tomahikan**; the Mahican, **tumnahecan**; the Massachusetts, **tomhegan.** This word is common to widely scattered Algonquian peoples."

Hodge, 1907, vol. II, p. 773

"The Indian for tomahawk, as given by Smith is **'tomahock'**; by Webster, **tomahaac**; by Strachey, **tomahake**; Algonkian, **tomhegan**; Mohegan, **tumahegan**; Delaware, **tamoihecan**, explained by Luscombe from the Cree dialect **otomahuk**,—'knock him down,' and **otomahwaw**, 'he is knocked down.' "

West, 1911, p. 54

TONYAWATHA

1. Tonyawatha, subdivision on east shore of Lake Monona, Dane County.

TOTAGATIC

1. Totagatic Lake, Bayfield County.
2. Totagatic River, Sawyer and Washburn Counties.
3. Totagatic Flowage.

"Totagatic. Means 'boggy river.' **Totogan** is a bog."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 397

"Totagatic. 'Place of floating logs.' 'Boggy river,' from Ojibwe **totagan**,—a bog."

Smith, 1930, p. 264

TOTAGATICONCE

1. Totagaticonce River, in Douglas County; its confluence with the St. Croix River is in Burnett County.

TOWANDA

1. Towanda Lake, Vilas County.

TUCKKIPPING

1. Tuckkipping Lake, now Lake Keesus, Waukesha County.

"Keesus. **Tuckkipping** (Lapham), 'spring' or 'well.'"

Brown, 1930, p. 40

TUSCOBIA

1. Tuscobia, town in Barron County.
2. Tuscobia Lake, Barron County.

"Tuscobia. 'A level place,' from the Indian word '**tuscola**,' tribe unknown."

Smith, 1930, p. 264

USAKEWIK

1. Usakewik, a Menomini village at the mouth of the Peshtigo River, Marinette County.

"Usakewik ('at the mouth' or 'the mouth.')"

Skinner, 1921, p. 386

VIROQUA

1. Viroqua Township, Vernon County.
2. Viroqua, city in Vernon County.

WA-BAU-GA O-NING-AH-MING

1. Wa-bau-ga O-ning-ah-ming, now Plover, in Portage County.

"Wa-bau-ga O-ning-ah-ming: 'eastern portage;' terminus of the old Indian portage between the Wisconsin and Wolf Rivers."

Emerson, 1933, p. 37

WABASSO

1. Wabasso Lake, Vilas County.

WABENO

1. Wabeno Township, Forest County.
2. Wabeno, town in Forest County.
3. Wabeno Lake, now Range Line Lake, Forest County.

"Wabeno, in Chippewa, means 'wild swan.'"

Reddick, 1951, p. 11

"Wabeno. 'Men of the dawn' or 'Eastern men' or 'Wise men' or 'Crafty magicians' or 'Mysterious men.' Wabeno is the title of the Fourth degree of the Medicine Lodge among the Ojibwe and Potawatomi, and denotes that they are conjurers and magicians in practicing medicine. '**Wabeno-wuck**,' their name for yarrow, denotes 'roots of power.'"

Smith, 1930, p. 264

WABIKON

1. Wabikon Lake, Forest County.
2. Wabigon Lake, Bayfield County.

"Possibly from the word 'wabigon.' Wabigon is the Potawatomi name for 'Trailing Arbutus.'"

Fuller, 1950, p. 27

WABKENOSHQUES

1. Wabkenoshques Lake, formerly Mouse, now Moose Lake, Waukesha County.

"**Wabkenoshques**—'mouse.'" Lacher, 1932, p. 851

"Mouse (now Moose) Lake—**Wabkenoshques**, 'mouse.'"

Brown, 1930, p. 40

WABOJEWUN

1. Wabojewun Falls, on the Wisconsin River."

"There are several rapids and falls on the Wisconsin River.

The first is a small rapid just below the Forks of the Wisconsin, called by the Chippewa **Wa-bo je-wun**, or Narrow Falls, indicative of their character.''

Hawkins, 1903, p. 120

WABOO

1. Waboo, town in Price County.

''Waboo. 'Rabbit,' from Ojibwi, '**wabus.**' ''

Smith, 1930, p. 263

WAGOSHI-SAGAIGAN

1. Wagoshi-Sagaigan, now Fox Lake Dodge County.

''Fox Lake, in Chippewa, is Wagoshi-Sagaigan, from **wagosh** (a fox), and **Sagaigan** (a lake).''

File of Geog. Names

WAH-BAU-GA O-NING-AH-MING

1. Wah-bau-ga O-ning-ah-ming, the portage between the Wolf and Wisconsin Rivers.

''**Wah-bau-ga O-ning-ga-ming**:—The trail dividing the Chippewa and Menomini lands runs through Plover. There the two tribes of Indians have been accustomed to make the portage from the Wisconsin to the Wolf River, by carrying their canoes on their heads; the distance across being about eight miles. This portage is called by the Chippewa **Wah-bau-ga O-ning-ah-ming**, meaning the Eastern Portage. The termination **O-ning-ah-ming** means a portage.''

Calkins, 1903, p. 122

WAH-QUAH-SAY-SE-SOCK

1. Wah-quah-say-se-sock,—now Two Creeks, Manitowoc County.

''The Potawatomi name for Two Creeks was **Wah-quah-say-se-sock**, meaning 'second growth birch.' ''

Lawson, 1920, p. 55

WAH-SAH-KIEW

1. Wah-sah-kiew Beach, on Shawano Lake, Shawano County.

WAH-SA-KA-TA-TA-WONG

1. Wah-sa-ka-ta-ta-wong, now North Bay, Door County.

"North Bay was called **Wah-sa-ka-ta-ta-wong**, or 'burning island.' "

Schumacher, 1918, p. 144

WAH-YA-QUA-KAH-ME-KONG

1. Wah-ya-qua-kah-me-kong, now Gill's Rock, Door County.

"Gill's Rock was called **Wah-ya-qua-kah-me-kong**, meaning 'head of the land, or land's end.' "

Schumacher, 1918, p. 144

"At Gill's Rock, (**Wah-ya-qua-kah-me-kong**, also written **Wah-ya-qui-kah-nick-cock**, meaning 'head of the land, or land's end), at the northernmost limit of the mainland was situated a Potawatomi village."

Lawson, 1920, p. 51

WAH-YAW-CON-UT-TA-GUA-YAW SEBE

1. Wah-yaw-con-ut-ta-gua-yaw Sebe, now the Eau Claire River.

"Wah-yaw-con-ut-ta-gua-yaw Sebe, Clear Water River, now known as the Eau Claire River."

Calkins, 1903, p. 120

"Wah-yaw-con-ut-ta-gua-yaw, the Chippewa name for Eau Claire Mills."

Calkins, 1903, p. 122

WAIAKAMING

1. Waiakaming, now Gordon, Sauk County.

"Waiakaming, in Chippewa, 'clear water.' "

File of Geog. Names

WAIAKAMI SAGAIGAN

1. Waiakami Sagaigan, now Eau Claire Lake, Eau Claire County.

"Waiakami Sagaigan, in Chippewa, means Clear Water Lake, from **waiakami** (clear water), and **sagaigan**, a lake)."

File of Geog. Names

WAIEKWA KICHIGAMI

1. Waiekwa Kichigami, now Fond du Lac, Fond du Lac County.

"Fond du Lac—known to the Ojibwe as '**waiekwa Kichigami**' or 'big lake.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 256

WAKANDA

1. Wakanda Spring, on the eastern slope of Blue Mound, Dane County.

Brown, 1938, p. 83

WAKON-TEEBE

1. Wakon-Teebe Cave, later Carver's Cave, Buffalo County.

"About thirteen miles below the Falls of St. Anthony is a remarkable cave. The Indians term it **Wakon-teebe (Wakantipi)**." Quoted from Capt. Jonathan Carver's **Journal**."

Kessinger, 1888, p. 204

WANATIU

1. Wanatiu, the Menomini village at present Bay Settlement, Brown County.

"Wanatiu ('a band'), Bay Settlement."

Skinner, 1921, p. 386

WANDAWEGA

1. Wandawega Lake, Walworth County.

WANEKA

1. Waneka, town in Dunn County.

"Waneka. Means 'he digs a hole.'" Verwyst, 1892, p. 397

"Waneka. 'He digs a hole,' from Ojibwe word '**wanika.**'"

Smith, 1930, p. 264

WANIKAMIU

1. Wanikamiu, Menomini for the site now occupied by the city of Fond du Lac, Fond du Lac County.

"Wanikamiu ('end of the lake'), Fond du Lac."

Skinner, 1921, p. 387

WANONA

1. Wanona Trail, end of trail marked with boulder marker at Portage, near site of old Fort Winnebago, Columbia County.

WAPASIPANIUK

1. Wapasipaniuk Lake, now White Potato Lake, Oconto County.

"White Potato Lake, translation of Menomini name of lake, 'wapasipaniuk.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 265

WAPOGASSET

1. Wapogasset Lake, Polk County.

'Wild rice is still harvested by the Chippewa on this lake, whose Indiana name is **Wa-pa-ga-set**, or White Pelican lake."

Brown, 1914, p. 26

WAPATO

1. Wapato Lake, Oconto County.
   a. Upper Wapato Lake.
   b. Lower Wapato Lake.

WAPOSE

1. Wapose Lake, Forest County.

WAPUS

1. Wapus Ridge, near Keshena, on of the Menomini Indian Reservation, Shawano County.

"The word '**wabus**' is Ojibwa for rabbit."—H. W. K.

WASA'KIU

1. Wasa-kiu, an ancient Menomini village site at the present city of Oconto, Oconto County.

"Wasa'kiu ('high sandy bank'). This was an ancient Menomini village place on the sand dunes where the old dam was located. It was used more or less continuously from prehistoric days until recent times."

Skinner, 1919, p. 97

WASAWAUGAN

1. Wasawaugan, village in Vilas County.

"At the foot of Lac du Flambeau, on both sides of Bear River, is the Indian village now known as 'The Old Village.' The old village has been in existence since very early times. The Indians inform me that the name of the village is **Wasawaugan**. Some writers have given it as **Wasawaugaming**."

Winn, 1924, p. 43

"Flambeau River, in Chippewa, is **Wassiwagani-sibi**, 'torch river,' from **wassiwagan** (a torch) and **sibi** (a river)."

File of Geog. Names

WASE-SKIS-SINK

1. Wase-skis-sink, later Cass Plains, extensive dry prairies within fifteen miles of the S. E. corner of Lake Winnebago.

"The Indians call these prairies '**wase-skis-sink**,' which signifies 'Shining Prairies.' We call them Cass Plains."

Stambaugh, 1900, p. 420

WASH-BE-GAH-TONG

1. Wash-be-gah-tong, now Rawley Bay, Door County.

"The old village of Chief Sahbe and Ce-ku-tay was located at Rawley Bay, **Wash-be-gah-tong**, the meaning of which was 'hole harbor.' "

Schumacher, 1918, p. 144

WASHTANONG

1. Washtanong, now Grand River, rising in Fond du Lac County.

"Translation of the Ojibwe word '**washtanong**.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 256

WASUSKESINO

1. Wasuskesino, a Menomini village on the site of the present city of Chilton, Calumet County.

"Wasuskesino ('new grave mound in a marsh'), Chilton."

Skinner, 1921, p. 43

WATASA

1. Watasa Lake, Shawano County.
2. Watasa Swamp, Shawano County.

WATSEEWINSE

1. Watseewinse Mountain, in the Peshtigo Valley, Marinette County.

Lawson, 1906, p. 88

WAU-BA-SHAW-BESS

1. Wau-ba-shaw-bess (now Delavan) Lake, Walworth County.

"The Potawatomi were still inhabiting the shores of Lake Delavan when the first white settlers came to the region in 1836. Their name for the lake is reported to have been **Wau-ba-shaw-bess**, or 'Swan Lake,' and their name for Turtle Creek,

its outlet, was **Wau-ba-shaw-se-pee**, or Swan River."

Brown, 1926, p. 11

WAUBEE

1. Waubee Lake, Oconto County.

WAUBEEK

1. Waubeek Township, Pepin County.
2. Waubeek, town in Dunnn County.

"Wau-beek, a rock." Glossary, 'Song of Hiawatha'

"Ojibwe word, **wabik** (pr. wah-beek), meaning 'metal, or metallic substances.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 264

WAUBEESEE

1. Lake Waubeesee, Racine County.

"The Chippewa word **wabisi**, meaning 'swan lake,' was pronounced wau-bee-see." Verwyst, 1892, p. 397

"The Potawatomi word for pelican was **wah-ba-see**, according to Simon Kahquados." Gerend, 1920, p. 132

"Waubeesee. 'Mark in the center of the hair for clan mark, yellow or red,' according to the Winnebago. 'Swan lake' or 'a white bird flies along,' Ojibwe word." Smith, 1930, p. 264

"In Chippewa, **Wabese**, or **Waubesie**, is the name of a swan." Butler, 1888, p. 65

WAUBEKA

1. Waubeka, town in Ozaukee County.

"The Indian village of Chief Waubeka (Waubekat), 1850, was located on the north shore of the Milwaukee River, on land now occupied by the village of Waubeka."

Brown, 1908, p. 19

"The best known (Potawatomi) chief in Ozaukee County was Waubeka, from whom the town of Waubeka takes its name." Lawson, 1920, p. 57

"Waubeka. 'Clay' from Ojibwe word '**wabigan**,'—metal, or metallic substances, from the Ojibwe word '**wabik**.' Waubika was the name of a Prairie Potawatomi chief."

Smith, 1930, p. 264

WAUBESA

1. Lake Waubesa, town in Dane County.
2. Waubesa Lake, in Dane County.
3. Waubesa Beach, subdivision on Waubesa Lake, Dane County.

"Waubesa. From **Wapishka**, Potawatomi for 'White Foam.'" Skinner, 1926, p. 399

"Waubesa. Corruption of the Chippewa **wabisi**, (swan lake.)" Verwyst, 1892, p. 397

"Waubesa. Gov. Farwell remarked that the only thing for which the Second Lake was noted was that an unusually large swan had been killed there; and the word **Wau-be-sa** was found to signify 'Swan,' and was accordingly adopted as a fitting designation. The word is also given by Schoolcraft (2-465), who spells it **Wa-bis-si**, **Wah-be-ze**, and **Wau-be-zee**, representing three local variations of Chippewa."

Cassidy, 1945, p. 20

WAUBISH NEPAYWAU

1. Waubish Nepaywau, now the Whitewater River, Walworth County.

"The derivation of the name of this (Whitewater River) fine stream is well worth preserving. Ex-Gov. Doty gives Waubish Nepaywau as the Menomini name, signifying The White Water; while the lamented Hon. Solomon Juneau stated, 'The river Whitewater is called by the united tribes of the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawattomies, **Wau-be-gan-nau-po-cat**, meaning 'rily, whitish water,' caused by white, soft clay in some parts of it.'"

Leonard, 1857, p. 428

WAUBOO

1. Wauboo, now called Holy Cross, a town in Bayfield County.

"There was a Chippewa chief, Waub-o-jeeg (White Fisher) at Bayfield."

Burnham, 1930, p. 126

WAUCEDAH

1. Waucedah, town in Adams County.

"Waucedah, means 'large pine,' or what the lumbermen term 'pumpkin pine.' "

Kingston, 1908, p. 389

WAUCHESAH

1. Wauchesah Hill, now Little Hill, or Little Mountain, Marinette County.

"On the peshtigo River is Little Hill, or Little Mountain. The Menomini Indians long ago gave to it the name **Wauchesah.**"

Brown, 1938, p. 23

WAUCOMA

1. Waucoma Creek, in Rock County.

"Bad Fish (Waucoma) Creek, in Porter Township, Rock County."

Brown, 1925, p. 104

WAUCOUSTA

1. Waucousta, town in Fond du Lac County.

WAU-GE-DE-GAU-YUNG

1. Wau-ge-de-gau-yung, site of a former Indian village on the Sheboygan River, Sheboygan County.

"In Section 32 the Sheboygan River forms another, though larger bend. . . . The Indians had here a village called 'Long Bend,' or 'Wah-ge-de-gah-yung.' "

Gerend, 1920, p. 150

WAUKAU

1. Waukau, town in Winnebago County.
2. Waukau Creek, Winnebago County.

"Waukau. 'Habitually, or often,' Indian word, tribe unknown. 'Sweet flag.' Sweet flag in Potawatomi is '**we'ke.**' "

Smith, 1930, p. 264

WAUKECHON

1. Waukechon Township, Shawano County.

"Named after Waukechon, a chief of the Menomini."

Ware, 1917, p. 52

WAUKESHA

1. Waukesha County.
2. Waukesha Township, Waukesha County.
3. Waukesha, city in Waukesha County.
4. Waukeshah, early name for Rochester.

"Waukesha. Corruption of the Chippewa **wagoshag** (foxes), pr. **wah-go-shahg**. Either there were many fox there, or the Indians of the district had the fox for their totem."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 397

"Waukesha is a corruption, the original name for 'fox' being **Wauk-tcha**, a word of two syllables, with the accent on the last. That in the second syllable should barely be made distinguishable, and the 'a' should be sounded like 'a' in aster. **Wauk-tcha** was Pottawatomie for fox. Fox River was **Wauk-tcha Seepe**." Waukesha, 1880, p. 378

"Waukesha—**Wakusha**, 'fox'; **Wawgoosha**, 'little fox'; **Walka**, 'fox'." Brown, 1930, p. 41

"Wau-ke-sha, pronounced by the Chippewas **Waw-goosh-sha**: the little fox." Witherell, 1857, p. 337

"Waukesha. 'Fox' from the word '**wauktsha**' or '**wauk-toha**,' Meskwaki word. In the Ojibwe the word for fox is '**wagosh**' and for young fox is '**wagoshens**.' In Winnebago, similar sounding names are '**wakizawa**,' meaning 'glad to get home,' and '**wakisha**,' meaning 'he's a man.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 264

"I am frequently asked the meaning of the word Waukesha. **Chekashkotah** (burnt prairie) was the Pottawattomie name of the river; only they added the syllables **seepee** (river), making it **chekashkotah-seepee**, (burnt prairie river). The whites first named their settlement Prairieville, but later reverted to the local name **waugooshance** (little foxes), which had been corrupted into 'Waukesha.'

"The ridge west of the river was riddled with foxes' burrows. It was often called by the Pottawattomie Indians 'Waugooshance,' meaning simply 'place of the little foxes;' occasionally some of the Indians call it **waugooshance-seepee** (little foxes' river); but this was not the usual name."

Vieau, 1900, pp. 467-8

WAUK-TCHA SEEPE

1. Wauk-tcha Seepe, that portion of the Fox or Pishtaka River below Mukwanago, in Waukesha County.

"Fox River was **Wauk-tcha Seepe**, below Mukwanago; above that point it was **Tchee-gas-cou-tak Seepe**, or 'Fire River.'"

Waukesha, 1880, p. 378

WAUMANDEE

1. Waumandee Township, Buffalo County.
2. Waumandee, town in Buffalo County.
3. Waumandee Lake, Buffalo County.
4. Waumandee Creek, Buffalo County.
5. Little Waumandee Creek, Buffalo County.
5. Waumandee Valley, Buffalo County.

WAUNAKEE

1. Waunakee, town in Dane County.
2. Waunakee Prairie, Dane County.

"Waunakee. Baraga's orthography is **wanaki**, the pronunciation being the same. It means 'he has peace' or 'he lives in peace.'"

Verwyst, 1892, p. 398

"Waunakee. 'He lies' or 'he lives in peace,' from the Ojibwe word '**wanaki**.' 'Sharpshooter,' Potawatomi meaning. 'You win,' Winnebago meaning."

Smith, 1930, p. 264

WAUPACA

1. Waupaca County.
2. Waupaca Township, Waupaca County.
3. Waupaca, City in Waupaca County.
4. Waupaca River, Waupaca County.
5. Waupaca Falls of the Waupaca River.

"Waupaca. From **Wapuka**, Potawatomi for 'Looking,' a famous Bald Eagle clan personal name."

Skinner, 1926, p. 339

"Waupaca. 'Pale Water,' Menomini. 'Stalling place' (where one waits to shoot deer), in Winnebago. 'Looking on,' Potawatomi word. 'White sand bottom,' from '**waupugga**,' according to George A. West."

Smith, 1930, p. 265

WAUPEE

1. Waupee Lake, Oconto County.
2. Waupee Creek, Oconto County.

"Waupee. 'Looking at it,' from the name of a Potawatomi chief."

Smith, 1930, p. 265

WAU-PE-TE SEEPEE

1. Wau-pe-te Seepe, now Mill Creek, a tributary of the Wisconsin River.

"Wau-pe-te Seepe, the Indian word is Wee-be-te Seepe: Tooth River." Witherell, 1857, p. 337

"Wau-pee-ty Seepe, or Tooth River, a tributary of the Wisconsin above Grand Rapids. Wau-pee-ty (full accent on the first, and half accent on the second syllable), signifies **tooth** (Chippewa probably)."

Hathaway, 1903, p. 118

"Wau-pee-tee Se-be, Tooth River, now known as Mill Creek, a tributary of the Wisconsin River." Hawkins, 1903, p. 120

WAUPUN

1. Waupun Township, Fond du Lac County.
2. Waupun, city in Dodge County.

"Waupun. From **Wa'pun**, Potawatomi for 'A white wave.' Compare with Menomini '**Wa'pan**, 'East.' "

Skinner, 1926, p. 399

"Waupun. Corruption of the Chippewa **waban** (east), pr. wau-ban." Verwyst, 1892, p. 398

"Waupun. 'East' or 'early, early day, early frontier,' from Ojibwe word '**waban**.' Called 'white potato,' but this would be 'wabasipin.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 265

WAUSAU

1. Wausau Township, Marathon County.
2. Wausau, city in Marathon County.
3. Wausau Junction, town in Marathon County.
4. Lake Wausau, Marathon County.

"Wausau. Corruption of **wassa** (far away), pr. **Waus-sau.**"

Verwyst, 1892, p. 398

"Wausau. 'Far away, or a long way off.' Ojibwe word 'wassa.' (Just sprouting). Winnebago word, 'wasa.' "

Smith, 1930, p. 265

"Wausau. (Ind. **wassa**, far away place)."

Wisconsin, 1941, p. 380

WAUSAUKEE

1. Wausaukee Township, Marinette County.
2. Wausaukee, town in Marinette County.
3. Wausaukee River.
4. Wausaukee Valley.

"Wausaukee. Corruption of the Chippewa **awassaki** (over, or beyond the hill), from **au-waus-sau-kee**."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 398

"Wausaukee. (Ind., far away land)."

Wisconsin, 1941, p. 333

"Wausaukee. 'Far away' and 'land' or 'beyond the hill.' From the Ojibwe words, **wassa aki**.' Potawotomi meaning—'far away land.' Winnebago word—**wasaki** (over-ripe cord)."

Smith, 1930, p. 265

WAUSHARA

1. Waushara County.
2. Waushara, an ancient Winnebago Indian village near the outlet of Fox Lake, in Dodge County.
3. Waushara Lake, now Fox Lake, Dodge County.
4. The Waushara Mounds, group of prehistoric Indian mounds in Dodge County.

"Snyder and Van Vechten assert that the name of the lake is derived from 'Big Fox, a Winnebago chief who lived on its shores when the region first became known to white men.' Big Fox's Indian name would be either Wau-sha-da-ra, or Shag-ra-da-kay-ra. The Indian name of the lake, Hish-a-rac-ah-tah, soon became corrupted into the more euphoneous word Waushara, which really means 'fish-spear'; and by the latter name the postoffice of Fox Lake was known until 1850.

"In his Winnebago vocabulary, Maj. Thomas J. George, a former Wisconsin fur-trader says: '**Ti-wau-sha-ra**' is Fox. Eventually the initial syllable 'ti' was dropped, making it Waushara. **Wah-shar-a-ker-ah** means Fox.'"

"Dr. N. W. Jipson, of Chicago, to whom the matter of the significance of the word Waushara was referred, says it unquestionably means Fox."

Brown and Drexel, 1921, pp. 113-114; 120

Brown and Drexel, on page 120 of the above source, states: "Waushara Village. The south shore of Fox Lake, on both sides of the Beaver Dam River, its outlet, and extending westward along the lake shore for three-fourths of a mile or beyond, was in early days of Wisconsin history the site of a **Winnebago village.**"

Dr. Increase A. Lapham, in "Antiquities of Wisconsin," page 54, also makes mention of "Waushara, near the outlet of Fox Lake."

"Waushara. 'Good land, popped corn, or cooked corn,' Winnebago meaning."

Smith, 1930, p. 265

WAUS-WAG-IM-ING

1. Wauswagiming Lake, now Lac du Flambeau, Vilas County.

"Lac du Flambeau, site of Ojibwe village of Waus-wag-im-ing, 'Torch Lake,' 1746." Emerson, 1933, p. 40

"At about the time the Fox Indians were driven from the Wisconsin River, the Ojibwe began to occupy this latter territory, their chief village being established at 'Waus-wag-im ing' (Torch Lake, Lac du Flambeau)." Brown, 1914, p. 12

"Lac du Flambeau, or Torch Lake (Wauswagnining), took its name from the custom of spearing fish by torchlight."

R. G. Thwaites' footnote, p. 181, to Malhiot's Journal, Wis. Hist. Coll. xix

WAUTOMA

1. Wautoma Township, Waushara County.
2. Wautoma, town in Waushara County.

"Wautoma. 'Good earth' or 'good life.' **Wau** means 'good.' Potawatomi word, **Wautoma.**"

Smith, 1930, p. 265

WAUWATOSA

1. Wawatosa Township, Milwaukee County.
2. Wawatosa, city in Milwaukee County.

"Wauwatosa. From **Wawato'sa**, Potawatomi for 'what he works for' or 'what he earns.'"

Skinner, 1926, p. 399

Wauwatosa. Corruption of the Chippewa **wewatessi** (fire fly), pr. **wai-wau-tais-see.''** Verwyst, 1892, p. 398

''Wauwatosa. 'Lightning bug' or 'dim of memory,' from '**wawatosi**,' tribe unknown. Winnebago word, pronounced the same, means 'I grabbed something.' '' Smith, 1930, p. 265

''Wauwatoosah.'' Hathaway, 1903, p. 118

''Wauwatosa is from **wauwautawsa** (the lost brave), probably referring to some legend in which an Indian warrior was lost.''

Vieau, 1900, p. 468

WAUZEKA

1. Wauzeka Township, Crawford County.
2. Wauzeka, town in Crawford County.
3. Wauzeka Cave, Crawford County.

''Wauzeka. 'Pine.' Named for an Indian chief. 'Pine' or 'White Pine.' Winnebago word, '**wazika**,' wrinkled. Potawatomi word, **wazika**.''

Smith, 1930, p. 265

WAWEAPITA

1. Waweapita, Menomini for the site of the present city of Appleton, Outagamie County.

''Waweapita, ('eddy, or whirlpool'), Appleton.''

Skinner, 1921, p. 387

WAYKA

1. Wayka Rips, of the Wolf River.

WAZEECHA

1. Wazeecha Lake, Wood County.

WEE-HUN-GA

1. Mt. Wee-hun-ga, south of De Soto, in Crawford County.

''Mt. Wee-hun-ga, **named for Moo-na-pa-ga's squaw.''**

Emerson, 1933, p. 108

WEKINEDONG

1. Wekinedong, now Ashland, in Ashland County.

WEQUAYONG

1. **Wequayong, the large Potawatomi village at the site** of Bay Settlement, on the east shore of Green Bay, near

the present site of Green Bay, Brown County.

"The Potawatomi had a large village at the site of Bay Settlement, the Indian name of which was **Wequayong**, meaning small harbor."

Lawson, 1920, p. 50

WEQUIOCK

1. Wequiock, town in Brown County.
2. Wequiock Bay, in Green Bay, Lake Michigan.

"Wequiock. 'Bladder,' from the Ojibwe word '**wik-kway.**'"

Smith, 1930, p. 265

WEROSHANAGRA

1. Weroshanagra River, now the Rock River.

"Rock River was called 'Weroshanagra' by the Winnebagoes, having the same meaning with the English name."

Butler, 1888, p. 66

WESACOTA SEPE

1. Wesacota Seepe, now the Brule River, Florence County.

"The Brule, or **Wesacota sepe.**"

Schubert, 1951, p. 71

WEYAUWEGA

1. Weyauwega Township, Waupaca County.
2. Weyauwega, town in Waupaca County.
3. Weyauwega Lake, Waupaca County.

"Weyauwega. Corruption of **ouiawikan**, (he embodies it, or he makes it his body), pr. **o-wee-au-wee-kan**. Probably some Indian legend is attached to the place, which gave it the name. Menabosho, the great Algonkin demigod, used to assume different shapes." Verwyst, 1892, p. 398

"Weyauwega. 'Somebody else,' Potawatomi word. 'I remember him,' Winnebago word, '**waiwike.**' 'He embodies it,' from '**ouiawikan,**' meaning 'whirling wind.' Also said to mean 'here we rest.' 'He makes it his body,' from Ojibwe 'ouiawikan.' Their deity, Menabosho, used to assume different shapes."

Smith, 1930, p. 265

WIGOBIMINISS

1. Wigobiminiss, now Basswood Island, one of the Apostle Islands, Ashland County.

"Basswood. A translation of the Ojibwe word for the island, '**wigobiminiss.**" Smith, 1930, p. 254

"Basswood Island, in Chippewa, is **Wigobi-miniss**, from '**wigob**' (basswood), and '**miniss**' (island)."
File of Geog. Names

WIGWAM

1. Wigwam Point, on the west side of the mill pond at New Lisbon, Juneau County.

WIGWASSENSIKA SAGAIGAN

1. Wigwassensiki Sagaigan, now Birch Lake, Burnett County.

"Birch Lake, in Ojibwe, is **Wigwassensika Sagaigan**, meaning Little Birch Tree Lake, from '**wigwassensika**' (there are many small birch trees), and '**sagaigan**', (inland lake.)"
File of Geog. Names

WIKWEDONG

1. Wikwedong, the Ojibwa settlement on the site of the present city of Ashland, Ashland County.

"Fish Creek was known as **Wikwedo**, which we are told meant 'Bay Creek,' **wikwedo** meaning 'bay,' hence this settlement here, meaning Ashland, was **Wikwedong.**"
Burnham, 1930, p. 402

WIKWEDO-SIBIWISHEN

1. Wikwedo-Sibiwishen, now Fish Creek, Ashland County.

"Fish Creek is called by the Indians **Wikwedo-Sibiwishen,** which means 'Bay Creek,' for **wikwed**, Chippewa for 'bay;' hence the name they gave to Ashland, meaning 'at the bay.' "
Verwyst, 1895, p. 430

WIKWEIAG

1. Wikweiag Bay, now Buffalo Bay, Bayfield County.

"There was once an Indian village at **Wikweiag**, (Buffalo Bay)." Verwyst, 1895, p. 432

"Buffalo Bay, in Chippewa, is **Wikweiang**, 'at the bay,' from **wikweia**, 'it forms a bay, there is a bay.' "
File of Geog. Names

WINDIGO

1. Windigo Lake, Sawyer County.

WINGRA

1. Lake Wingra, Dane County.
2. Wingra Creek, Dane County.

"Wingra, or Duck. J. A. Noonan states that the Indian name of this lake was obtained by him from Joe Pelkie, a French and Indian resident on the site of Madison in 1837. Maps of 1844 and 1848 give the name of this body of water as 'Lake Weengra.' Since the fifties the spelling of this name has become altered to that now in use."

Brown, 1915, p. 78

WINNEBAGO

1. Winnebago County.
2. Winnebago Rapids, town in Winnebago County.
3. Lake Winnebago.
4. Winnebago Creek, Dodge County.
5. Fort Winnebago Township, Columbia County.
6. Old Fort Winnebago, at Portage, Columbia County.

"Winnebago. **Winipig**, 'filthy water' (Chippewa); **winipyagohag**, 'people of the filthy water' (Sauk and Fox)."

Hodge, 1907, p. 958

"Winnebago. The tribe was named **Weene-be-go** by Algonquins, a term signifying stinking or salt water. The French rendered it Quinnebago, which finally degenerated into Winnebago." Waukesha, 1880, p. 381

"Winnebago. Named for the Indian tribe. A corruption of **winnibigoug** (dirty water people). In Chippewa, **winnibi** (pr. wee-nee-bee), is 'dirty water.'" Verwyst, 1892, p. 398

"**Winnibigo Nipesa** ('Winnebago Lake'), Lake Winnebago."

Skinner, 1921, p. 387

"Winnebago. 'People of stinking waters.' Named after the Winnebago Indians. Ojibwe word '**winnibigoog**'—dirty water people." Smith, 1930, p. 265

"Winnebago. Means fetid. It was because they were said to have come from the salt water, which the Indians style fetid water. This name, however, is corrupted, **Weene**, means filthy, or fetid; **be**, water, and **go**, gives it character. **Weene-be-go** is the name of the water in a marsh that is scented or filthy,

and the Algonquin race gave this people this name because they were said to have come from salt water, or marshes."

Brunson, 1859, p. 283

"Winnebagoes. They are a Dakota tribe, and this name is that given by the Algonquins, and means 'fetid.' The early missionaries, Bressani and Marquette, all state that they were so called by the Algonquins as coming from the ocean, or salt water, which the Indians style 'fetid water.' "

Shea, 1857, p. 137

WINNEBOUJOU

1. Winneboujou, town in Douglas County.
2. Winnebashoo, town in Ashland County.

"Winna-bozho, the first created man, in Chippewa mythology."

Burnham, 1930, p. 39

"Menabosho, the great Algonkin demi-god."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 398

WINNECONNE

1. Winneconne Township, Winnebago County.
2. Winneconne, town in Winnebago County.

"Winneconne. From **winikaning** (a dirty place), pr. **wee-nee-kau-ning**. The syllable **win** refers to anything unclean. There is a deal of mud on the flats around Winneconne."

Verwyst, 1892, p. 398

"Winikani ('skull'), Winneconne. Named because of the large number of bleached human skulls and bones said by the Menomini to have been scattered about the field of battle, perhaps one of the battles between the Sauk and the French."

Skinner, 1921, p. 388

"Winneconne. 'Dirty place,' from 'winnekaning.' Ojibwe word, 'winikaning.' 'Skull,' according to Menomini, from the skulls and bones remaining after Sauk and French war at the place. 'Going to lead,' meaning of the Potawatomi word. 'Feasting place,' from '**ween**'—marrow, and '**kaning**'—deer bones."

Smith, 1930, p. 265

WINNEQUAW

1. Winnequaw Point, Lake Monona, Dane County.

2. Winnequaw Bay, Lake Monona, Dane County.

"The largest of the Winnebago villages located about the Madison lakes was situated on the southeast shore of Lake Monona at a place then known as Squaw Point, and in later years as Winnequaw."

Brown, 1922, p. 143

WINNESHIEK

1. Winneshiek Bluff, Trempealeau County.
2. Winneshiek Bottoms, Trempealeau County.
3. Winneshiek's Landing, Trempealeau County.
4. Mt. Winneshiek, north of De Soto, Trempealeau County.
5. Winneshiek Wild Life Refuge, along the Mississippi River in Grant, Vernon and Crawford Counties.

"Winneshiek. 'Stinking,' Winnebago word. Also name of a Winnebago chief. 'Stinking' does not convey the same idea to the Winnebago as it does to the white men. The finest perfumes would be designated as 'stinking' by them."

Smith, 1930, p. 266

"The Elder Winneshiek, who presided over the Pecatonica village, was called by his people, Ma-wa-ra-ga, meaning muddy. The name Winneshiek is an Algonquin equivalent of the Winnebago name Ma-wa-ra-ga. **Winne** means dirty, or brackish, as applied to water, and **shiek** (properly **zick)** means a growth. This name is frequently applied to the yellow birch tree, as the bark of this tree has a dirty or smoky color. As applied to Winneshiek, this name undoubtedly refers to the beard which was an hereditary characteristic of the male members of the Winneshiek family."

Jipson, 1923, pp. 132-133

WINONA

1. Winona Junction, town in LaCrosse County.
2. East Winona, town in Buffalo County.

"Winona is the common or frequent Sioux name bestowed on the first born, if a daughter." Upham, 1908, p. 124

"Winona, which means the eldest daughter."

Lockwood, 1856, p. 194

"Winona, in Sioux language, refers to the first daughter of a family." Smith, 1930, p. 266

WINOOSKI

1. Winooski, town in Sheboygan County.
2. Winooski Swamp, in Sheboygan County.

"The village of Winooski was named by the early settlers in that locality, there being a village by that name in the state of Vermont. It is of Indian origin, and means 'onion' in the language of the Indians living in Vermont. There is a city by the name of Winooski on the Winooski River in Vermont, and the early settlers in the Town of Lyndon came from that locality and named their village after their home town; singularly enough, Winooski was located on the Onion River in the Town of Lydon."

Gerend, 1920, p. 182

WIOTA

1. Wiota Township, Lafayette County.
2. Wiota, town in Lafayette County.

WISCONSIN

1. Wisconsin, the state.
2. The Wisconsin River.
3. Wisconsin Dells, city in Columbia County.
4. Wisconsin Rapids, city in Wood County.

"Wisconsin. A. Gaudin says it means 'muskrat house,' but this is doubtful. I have not found two Indians to agree on the meaning of this word." Verwyst, 1892, p. 398

"Now we come to another state name, Wisconsin, the origin and meaning of which are uncertain. Written by the early French explorers of that region as 'Ouisconsin,' and named for its chief stream, it is thought to have come from a Sak Indian word translated as 'Wild Rushing Channel;' also as having reference to holes in the banks of streams where birds nest. However, neither of these interpretations can be confirmed." Lawrence, 1920, p. 129

"**Wiskos Sepeo**. Menomini for Wisconsin River. **Wiskos** means 'a little muskrat house,' and '**Sepeo**' river, and from this the name Wisconsin is derived." Skinner, 1921, p. 381

"How did Wisconsin get its name, and what does the name mean? I am sorry to say that there is no exact answer to this question, but there are several interesting facts known about it.

"That the state of Wisconsin was named for one of its great rivers is true. As far as we are able to discover, the first printed mention of the name is in Father Marquette's **Journal,** published in Paris in 1681. In this **Journal** the word is first **Meskousing**, then **Miskous.**

"On Marquette's map, published with the **Journal**, the word appears as follows: **Messc8sing.** In early French spelling the figure **8** was used in place of the letters **ou.** Clearly, however, the word was of Indian and not of French origin. Without doubt the root of the word was the first part. The second part—**sing**, **sin**, or **san**, spelled differently at different times, was an Indian ending indicating place or location."

Davis, 1939, p. 3

"Bishop Baraga, in his 'Grammar and Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language,' (Montreal, 1883), makes an interesting contribution to this field of speculation as follows:) '**Wiscons, Wisconsin, Wiskonsing**: in Wisconsin, from Wisconsin, to Wisconsin. The small lodge of a beaver or muskrat.' "

Usher, 1914, Vol. 1, p. 13

"Ouiseconsaint." Malhiot, in his **Journal**, 1804

"Wisconsin. 'Holes in the bank of a stream, in which birds nest,' Sauk word. Marquette spoke of the state as 'Meshkousing,' 'Mishkousing' and 'Wishkinsing.' 'Wild rushing channel, or gathering of the waters.' 'In, to, or from Wisconsin.' Ojibwe word, 'Wisconsing.' " Smith, 1930, p. 266

"The Wisconsin River had never been known to white men by any other name. Father Marquette, who has left the earliest record of a visit to the region, in 1673, noted that his Indian guide told him it was named the 'Meskousing, River."

Smith, 1942, p. 69

"Wisconsin. The state derives its name from the principal river which runs centrally through it. The Chippewas, upon its head waters, call this river **Wees-konsan**, which signifies

'the gathering of the waters.' They gave it this name, as an Indian trader informed me, on account of its numerous branches near its head concentrating into one stream. The French voyageur called it **Ouisconsin**, the first syllable of which comes nearer to the sound of the Indian than does **Wis.** The second syllable of the French, if you give the **c** its hard sound, is more like **kon** than **con**; but the last syllable, **sin**, is evidently a derivation from the Indian both in the English and the French." Brunson, 1903, pp. 111-112

"The name of Wisconsin has a Chippewa derivation, but Mr. Brisbois can tell nothing of its origin or meaning. From the Winnebago chief, Waukon-Haka, or Snakeskin, Mr. Brisbois learned that the Winnebagoes referred to the Wisconsin as the **Neekoonts-Sara**, or Gathering River; **neekoontz**, river, and **sara**, gathering—hence, a river having many tributaries." Brisbois, 1882, p. 301

"**Meskousing to Wisconsin.** Of the name Wisconsin, and its meaning, there is speculation still. The first recorded printing of the name in its early form was in Pere Marquette's **Journal**, which was published in 1681, in Paris. The priest spelled the name **Meskousing, Miskous**, and on the map published with the **Journal, Messc8sing**, the 8 being used in place of the **ou.**

Of its Indian origin, there can be no question whatever. The second appearance of the river was on the 1685 map drawn by Father Hennepin; there it is spelled **Ouisconsin**, clearly indicative of the French pronunciation of the Indian name. Its evolution to **Wiskonsan** is obvious, this being the English spelling suggested by the French pronunciation of Ouisconsin.

"On July 4, 1836, the final change was brought about; Wiskonsan became Wisconsin, despite the objection of some substantial citizens to the use of the **c** for the **k**; and on January 30, 1845, the territorial legislature in a formal resolution fixed upon the spelling of 1836 as the authorized spelling for the territory, and thus also for the river. The alternative spellings of the past, which are sometimes come upon—Ouisconsings, Miskonsing, Ouisconsink, Ouisconsic, **et al**,—are obviously only mutations of the earlier forms, Meskousing, or Ouisconsin.

"The matter of the meaning of the name is another argument altogether. The Chippewa at the headwaters of the Wisconsin called the river **Wees-Konsan**, which, they explained, meant 'the place of the gathering of the waters.' But there is also the belief that the word means 'red cliff' to the Chippewa; this belief is recorded by Susan Burdick Davis, though her source is not given.

"Harry E. Cole, writing in **Baraboo, Dells and Devil's Lake Region**, maintains that Wisconsin 'is an Indian word meaning wild, rushing river,' while Marquette affirmed that the word meant 'the river of flowery banks.' Finally, as recorded by Carver, there is the meaning of 'the river of a thousand islands.'

"There is one aspect of the river which has not changed from its earliest times to this—the islands. Truly, the Wisconsin is a river of a thousand islands. For that reason, I am inclined to believe that the translation of Wisconsin as meaning the stream or river of a thousand islands is to be preferred above all others." Derleth, 1942, pp. 34-36

"Origin of the word **Wisconsin**. Margaret Gleason, our reference librarian, reports a number of inquiries stemming from a reference in the recently published **Dictionary of Americanisms**, which stated that 'the origin of the word Wisconsin is not clear, and that the word is impossible of explanation.' Miss Gleason refers the editors of the dictionary to a letter written by the late Louise Kellogg, noted Wisconsin historian. It said, 'The most consistent meaning to me is the Winnebago **Wees-koos-errah**, or **Ne-koos-errah**, and that it simply means **the river**, the principal river of the region. The Winnebago have lived at the portage to the Wisconsin from the time Wisconsin was discovered by the French; their name is most likely to have been early known and long persisted. Wisconsin thus meant **the river**, or if one trust Doty, 'the river of flowery banks.' " From **"What's Going On,"** August, 1951, newsletter of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; p. 6

"Origin of the word **Wisconsin**. Reference in August's **What's Going On** to the origin of the word Wisconsin stirred up considerable comment in the state's press. The Milwaukee

Journal ran an editorial on the subject; Madison **Capital Times** columnist Herb Jacobs, devoted a full column to the subject. To set the records straight, here is an excerpt from the 1951 edition of the **Encyclopedia Americana** on the origin of the word Wisconsin written by the Society's chief librarian, Dr. Wilcox: 'The name Wisconsin, first spelled **Miskonsing**, then Ouisconsin by the French, was derived from the Indian name for the principal river of the region, and is usually interpreted to mean 'gathering of the waters.' ''

From **"What's Going On."** October, 1951, newsletter of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; p. 5

WISSAUWA

1. Wissauwa Lake, now Golden Lake, Waukesha County.

''Golden Lake: Wissauwa, yellow; **Misswawa**, elk.''

Brown, 1930, p. 40

''Wissauwa—yellow.''

Lacher, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 851

WISSOTA

1. Wissota Lake, Chippewa County.

WONEWOC

1. Wonewoc Township, Juneau County.
2. Wonewoc, town in Juneau County.

''Wonewoc. Corruption of **wonowong, wonowag**, ('they howl')—e. g., wolves, pr. wo-no-waug.''

Verwyst, 1892, p. 398

''Wonewoc. 'They howl (the wolves).' From Ojibwe word '**wonowag**.' 'You are naughty, or rough. Winnebago word, '**woniwak**.' ''

Smith, 1930, p. 266

WONK-SHECK-HO-MIK-LA

1. Wonk-sheck-ho-mik-la Lake, now Lake Mendota, Dane County.

''Oliver Lemere communicated the following information to Dr. N. W. Jipson, the well-known investigator of Winnebago history: 'The largest of the four lakes at Madison, Mendota, is called **Wonk-scheck-ho-mik-la**, meaning where the Indian lies.''

"John Blackhawk and Eli Rasdell, members of the Winnebago tribe, verify the name **wonk-scheck-ho-mik-la,** or **Wankshek-ho-mig-ra,** or 'the Indian rests,' as the native Indian name for Mendota." Brown, 1922, pp. 122-123

"Lake Mendota (**Wonk-schick-o-meek-er-rah**, where the man sleeps)."

Brown, 1915, p. 80

WYALUSING

1. Wyalusing Township, Grant County.
2. Wyalusing, town in Grant County.
3. Wyalusing State Park, Grant County.

"Wyalusing—'at the dwelling place of the hoary veteran,' so called from an ancient warrior who lived near."

Hodge, 1907, II, p. 977

WYOCENA

1. Wyocena Township, Columbia County.
2. Wyocena, town in Columbia County.

"Wyocena. 'Somebody else,' meaning of the Potawatomi word."

Smith, 1930, p. 266

WYOMING

1. Wyoming Township,
   a. Waupaca County.
   b. Iowa County.
2. Wyoming, town in Iowa County.

"Two meanings, both well supported by competent authorities, have been given to the word Wyoming. One is that it is a corruption of a Delaware, or Lenni-Lenape word, '**Maughwau-wama,**' meaning Extensive Plains. The other interpretation has been put upon it as Mountains with Valleys Alternating."

Lawrence, 1920, p. 133

YAHARA

1. Yahara River, Dane County.
2. Yahara Park, town in Dane County.

"Yahara. 'Catfish River,' Indian word tribe unknown."

Smith, 1930, p. 266

"Catfish River, Dane County. Oliver Lemere gave the Win-

nebago name for catfish as **ho-wi**(ch)-**ha-hora**. Yahara is evidently a phonetic rendering of the name.''

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''It's (the Catfish, or Yahara River) Winnebago name was **Ho-wich-ra**, 'catfish.' ''

Brown and Brown, 1929, p. 8

YOLO

1. Yolo, town in Clark County.

''Yolo. Named from the county in California. An Indian word meaning a 'place abounding in rushes' or 'possession of royal blood.' ''

Smith, 1930, p. 266

ZHAMAWANIK

1. Zhamawanik, name for the Ojibwa village at site of the presesnt city of Ashland, Ashland County.

''Original name of the town, Ashland, was the Ojibwe word **Zhamawanik**,—'long stretched beaver.' ''

Smith, 1930, p. 254

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THE OCONTO SITE—AN OLD COPPER MANIFESTATION

By Robert E. Ritzenthaler and Warren L. Wittry

Introduction

The purpose of this preliminary paper is to present a descriptive report of a recently discovered Old Copper site on the western outskirts of the city of Oconto in Oconto County, Wisconsin. The importance of the site lies in the fact that it is only the second instance of Old Copper artifacts found in situ with burials, the first being the Osceola Site in Grant County, Wisconsin, discovered and excavated in 1945. While Osceola added some important information to this little-known culture of Wisconsin, it was obvious that more such sites were necessary for comparative purposes and to expand the picture of the life of these early Wisconsin inhabitants. The Oconto Site provided valuable data along these lines.

It has been generally believed that the Old Copper people were the earliest Indians to inhabit Wisconsin, and estimates run as much as 5000 years ago for their arrival. Their name is derived from the fact of their having made a considerable variety of tools and ornaments out of Lake Superior copper by the processes of cold hammering or heating and hammering. The copper artifacts, most of which have occurred as surface finds, are distinctive for their thick coating of copper salts and heavy acid erosion which suggest considerable antiquity.

The Osceola Site (Ritzenthaler, 1945) showed that along with such Old Copper artifacts as socketed-tang spear points, spuds, knives, awls, conical points, beads, and bracelets there occurred a rather distinctive chipped-stone industry. The chipped-stone work exhibited fine workmanship in primary

Fig. 1. General View of Site

flaking and secondary retouching, and included in its products a characteristic type of drill, scraper, and point. The points were consistent in having a lanceolate shape with rather parallel sides, side notching, and a concave or sometimes straight base. Two bannerstones, of the "bow-tie" and prismoidal type, found by amateurs at the site provide evidence that they also made ground-stone artifacts. Their burial complex consisted of interment in a cemetery (no mounds) and the employment of the bundle burial method as most common, but partial cremation was also practiced. Their type of implements indicate an economy based on hunting and fishing.

With this rather meager picture of Old Copper culture the Oconto Site was approached. One chief objective was to obtain enough charred wood for a Carbon 14 analysis as to accurately date this group. We were also interested in getting information on house type, ground-stone work, and in obtaining data which could be compared with Osceola in terms of burial practices, and types of copper and chipped-stone artifacts.

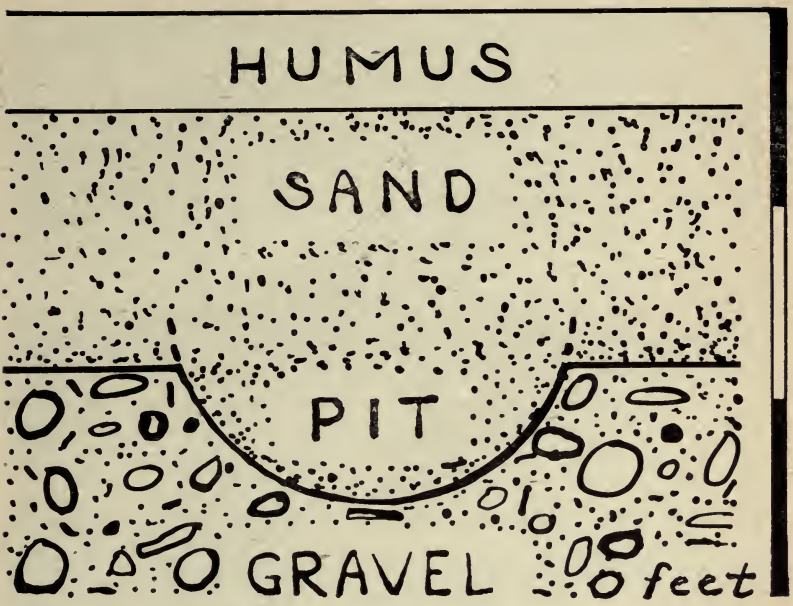


Fig. 2. Profile Diagram

The Oconto Site

The Oconto Site was discovered in June, 1952, by Donald Baldwin, a 13 year old boy, while digging in an abandoned gravel quarry on the western outskirts of the city of Oconto. His discovery of human bones was investigated by Mr. Reuben LaFave and Mr. George Hall of the Oconto County Historical Society, and their test excavations revealed burials accompanied by copper artifacts. The find was reported to the Milwaukee Public Museum, and two members of the anthropology department made a one day trip to examine the site and artifacts obtained thus far. Arrangements were made to excavate the site, and on July 16th, Mr. Warren Wittry representing the Wisconsin State Historical Society, and Mr. Robert Ritzenthaler and Mr. Arthur Niehoff of the Milwaukee Public Museum arrived at Oconto and began work. The project was conducted as part of the program of the Wisconsin Archaeological Survey.

The site (Fig. 1) lies within the western limits of the city

Fig. 3. Feature 10 showing pit shape and extended burial

of Oconto with the burial area about 150 yards north of the Oconto River. Specifically it is within Part 4 of Government Lot 8, Section 24 of Oconto Township, and is now the property of the Oconto County Historical Society. The area was formerly a fairly level one, but commercial gravel operations during the 1920's removed and disturbed a large area and there is little doubt that a considerable portion of the burial site was destroyed in the process. It is probable that the burial site originally enclosed an area at least 100 feet square. There is no indication of mounds. Beneath the eight-inch top-soil lie several feet of Plainfield fine sand, underlain by gravel.

Method of Excavation

A base line running north-south was established and a five-

Fig. 4. Feature 7 showing partial flexed burial with skull of bundle burial near pelvis, and skull of child and two antler tips near feet.

foot grid system employed. Excavation procedure was to strip a square rapidly down to the bottom of the approximately eight inch humus layer which was sterile except for quantities of sawn animal bones existing as refuse from a slaughterhouse formerly located just to the east of the burial area. When the yellowish sand lying below the humus line was reached, stripping proceded more cautiously as occasional copper implements (particularly awls) were found only a few inches below the top of the sand layer. Near the bottom of the roughly two foot deep sand layer, the burial pits would begin to show up (Fig. 2). The burial pits were rectangular as seen from above, roughly two by four and one-half feet in size, and basin-shape in cross-section. They had been dug into the gravel, the burials laid-in and covered with sand, so the pits were discernible by the gravel outline when approached from above. The cremation pits appeared as roughly

Fig. 5. Feature 5. Double burial in pit showing bone whistle at back of head of child.

circular when seen from above, basin-shaped in cross-section, and in instances did not penetrate into the gravel layer. Each pit was given a feature number.

The Burial Complex

Nearly all the burials occurred in pits, and both burial pits and cremation pits were found. Eighteen burial pits were discovered, with one of these sterile. Three others had been uncovered by Mr. LaFave before our arrival. While the usual size was about two by four and one-half feet, they ranged in length from four to eight feet, and in width from two to nearly four feet. The shape was rectanguloid as seen from above, with rounded corners, sometimes to the extent of resulting in the outline being more elliptical than rectanguloid. They were basin-shaped in vertical cross-section (Fig. 3) and from one to two feet in depth. Most were "custom dug," just large enough to house the individual or individuals interred. Of the twenty-one burial pits, one contained

Fig. 6. Feature 15. Tightly flexed burial.

nothing, eleven contained a single individual, seven contained two individuals, one contained three, and one contained five. A variety of burial positions were sometimes found to occur in a single pit. In Feature 7, for example, there were three bundle burials, one partially flexed, and one extended (Fig. 4). In the two instances in which secondary burials occurred in the same pit with primary ones, the secondary burials were above the primaries. Apparently the individuals who died in the winter were kept until the spring thaw made digging possible. Then the recently dead were interred in the flesh and the bones of those left over from the winter were thrown on top as secondary burials. In eight of the pits one or more artifacts were found, but there was no consistent or significant position of artifacts in relation to the skeleton. The bone whistle, however, lay at the back of the head of the child (Fig. 5). (See Webb, 1950, p. 291, for a similar occurrence.) Thirteen of the pits were orientated with the longitudinal axis running in a roughly north-south direction, but there seems to be no significance to it, as some had an east-west orientation and others fell somewhere in between.

Fig. 7

Furthermore, there seemed to be no pattern as to how the individuals were faced.

A total of seven cremation pits were discovered plus one reported by the LaFave excavation. They were roughly circular as seen from above, and basin-shaped in vertical cross-section. Their diameters ranged from two to four feet, their depth was about a foot, and they contained thick concenrtations of small fragments of partially cremated human bone. In some instances it was evident, and in other probable, that they contained the remains of more than one individual. Two of the pits contained a single copper artifact each.

Based on the one fact that at least 45 individuals were excavated in the area worked, and that the major portion of

Fig. 8

the site was destroyed by gravel operations, it was estimated that the cemetery must have contained at one time approximately 200 individuals.

In summary it may be noted that while at Osceola, only two methods of burial were encountered (i. e. bundle and partial cremation), the Oconto group employed five methods as follows:

Method	Number of Individuals certain	probable
Extended	9 (2 of these were prone positions)	
Partially flexed.	4	3
Fully flexed (Fig. 5)	3	1
Bundle	12	
Partial cremation	8 pits (number of individuals unknown)	
(Unidentified)	5	
	45 individuals	

Physical type:

A study of the skeletal material has yet to be made, but it is readily apparent that they were a fairly robust group, of average stature for Wisconsin Indians, but with well-devel-

Fig. 9

oped mausulature. The state of bone preservation ranged from fair to very poor.

Evidence of Occupation

Besides the cemetery there was little in the way of evidence of occupation. Copper implements, particularly awls, occurred sporadically in the upper levels of the sand layer and bore no apparent relationship to the burials. Four chipped-stone points were found apart from an association with burials. It is probably that they represent lost or discarded items. Numerous post molds were found and mapped, but no discernable pattern was apparent. A considerable number were of consistent size, usually .8 feet in diameter, and in some cases three or four would line up with fairly consistent spacing and direction, then abruptly end. Fragments of charcoal were found in two of the molds. The end product was a map showing such disorderly scattering that no resemblance of a wall or house could be ascertained.

Fig. 10

Artifacts

A detailed list of the Oconto specimens with description, measurements, and association appears as Appendix A of this report. This section will concern itself with a summary of the types found and comparisons with Osceola materials.

Copper:

Oconto yielded fewer copper artifacts and fewer types than Osceola. There was a total of 26 speciments found, including those dug by local residents and turned in for measurement and photographing. The types are listed as follows:

Seven awls (Fig. 7), four crescents (Fig. 8), three clasps (Fig. 9), and one each of the following: socketed-tang spear-point, fish-tail-tang spear-point, ovoid spear-point with broken tang (Fig. 19), fishhook, bracelet (Fig. 11), section of spirally-coiled tubing (sig Fig. 9), rivet, and spatula (Fig. 12). There were also four small unidentified pieces.

As with Osceola, awls were the most numerous type of artifact, but the Oconto specimens were of smaller size. Cres-

Fig. 11

cents were more numerous at Oconto, but in contrast with Osceola no spuds were found and only one socketed-tang spear-point. At both sites utilitarian products were much more numerous than the ornamental.

Chipped Stone

Somewhat surprising, in contrast to Osceola, was the paucity of chipped-stone implements. A total of seven such artifacts were found, with only three being associated with burials. Of the remaining four, one, a straight-stemmed point fragment, occurred in the humus layer and could represent a different culture, one was found in a disturbed area and stratigraphy could not be determined, and two were near the top of the sand layer. All were projectile points with the exception of one, a triangular scraper found with a burial (Fig 13). Of the two points found with burials one was triangular in basic shape with the side notches, but the sides of the blade

Fig. 12. Spatula (at right), fishhook, rivet (left bottom), and four unidentified pieces.

appear to be re-chipped; the other was ovoid with a straight base and side notches. The latter was the nearest in type to the Osceola type, but none were characteristic Osceola points. Besides the variation in type, the Oconto points were smaller, none being over two inches in length. Like Osceola, however, the technique of primary flaking with secondary retouching along the edges was employed.

Bone:

Two bone artifacts were found, the first bone implements to be associated with the Old Copper complex thus far. The most interesting was a fine speciment of a whistle (Fig. 14) made from a deer tibia. It was six inches long with a rectangular opening near the center, and three rows of short, incised lines running the full length as decoration. The second specimen was an awl (Fig. 15) 2⅝ inches in length and

Fig. 13

made from a portion of a fish jaw.

Antler:

Two well-preserved antler tips, suitable for use as flaking tools although the polished ends gave no indication of such use, were found together in a burial bit (Fig. 16). A third specimen, a charred short end-section occurred in a concentration of charred wood.

Shell:

A series of 14 pond snail (Campeloma decisum) beads (Fig. 15) plus fragments of several more were found with a burial before our arrival. They were reported as occurring at the

Fig. 14

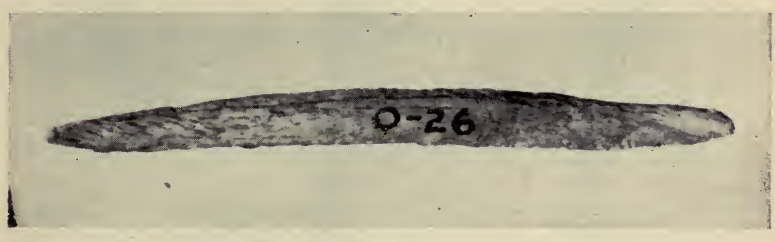


Fig. 15

wrist of the skelton and apparently ⅛ inches in diameter near the center with the stringing presumbably done through this hole and the natural aperture.

Portions of two unworked shells were also found in a burial pit. One was a fresh-water clam (Unio ellipsis), the nearest present source of which is the Mississippi River. The second was part of the shoulder of a large lightning shell, a type of whelk (Fulgar perversus) the present distribution of which is the Atlantic Coast from North Carolina to Florida. It was from a shell originally about a foot in length, and its importance lies in its indication of trade or contact with a region over a thousand miles away.

Hematite:

Two lumps of iron ore were found near the head of the extended child burial, with which the bone whistle was found. A rounded facet, apparently of natural origin, appears on the smaller of the two.

Pottery:

No pottery was found.

Fig. 16

Animal Remains:

Near the head of an extended burial in a pit, Feature 4, were found a number of small bones. They were identified as parts of a turtle and a duck (unidentified as to species but about the size of a mallard).

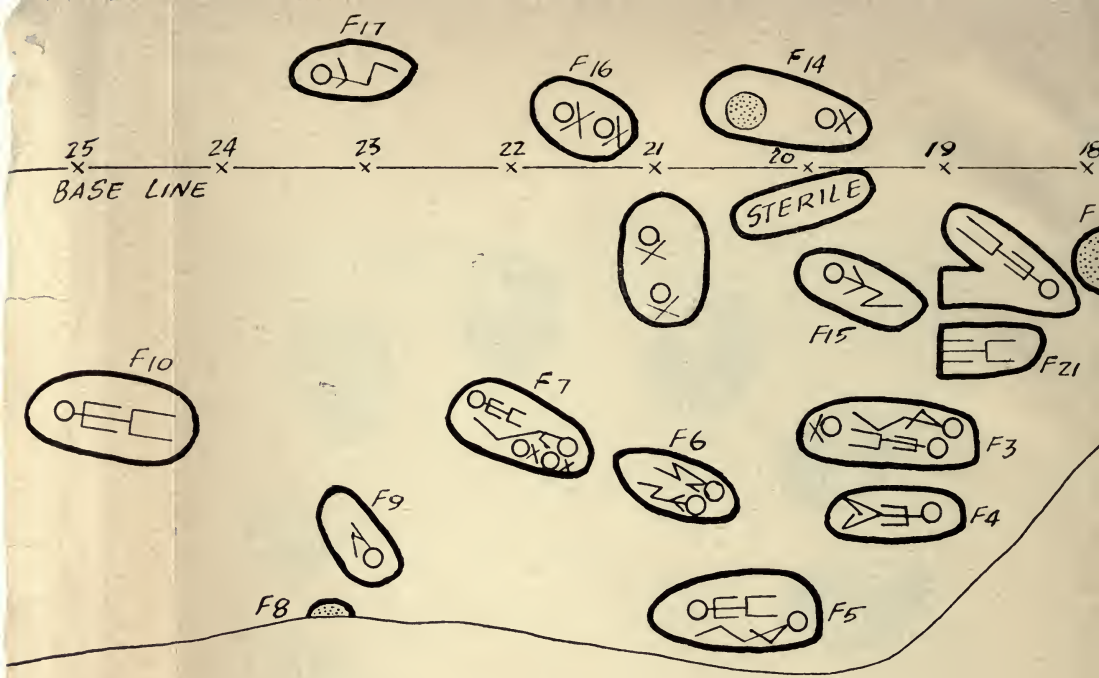
Conclusions

While the Oconto and Osceola sites are obviously closely related in culture and must be considered as belonging to the Old Copper Culture, it is also apparent that there are a number of differences between the two. The variation is most strongly evident in the chipped-stone types, but the differences also exists in terms of types of copper artifacts, burial methods, bone and antler work, and polished stone. To a considerable extent it is merely the absence of a trait, such as bone work for Osceola, that creates the difference, and it is very possible that what we have here are inadequate inventories of the culture at both places. Future excavation might fill in these

Fig. 17

gaps to the extent that such negative variations will cancel out.

The variations apparent at this point could be theoretically accounted for on either special or temporal grounds, or both. Considering the special approach the two sites are at opposite ends of the state some 210 miles apart as the crow flies. If contact were lacking, the variation could easily occur within a relatively short period of time. As to a temporal difference, there is no evidence to indicate either that one is older than the other, or that they were contemporeous. It might be noted that Oconto is near the heart of the Old Copper center as indicated by distributional studies based on surface finds (Wittry, 1951, pp. 14, 18) while Osceola exists as a lonely outpost, but it is impossible at this point to determine which group was the earlier.



DISTURBE

KEY TO SYMBOLS

BURIAL PITS

CREMATION PITS

BUNDLE BURIAL

FLEXED BURIAL

EXTENDED BURIAL

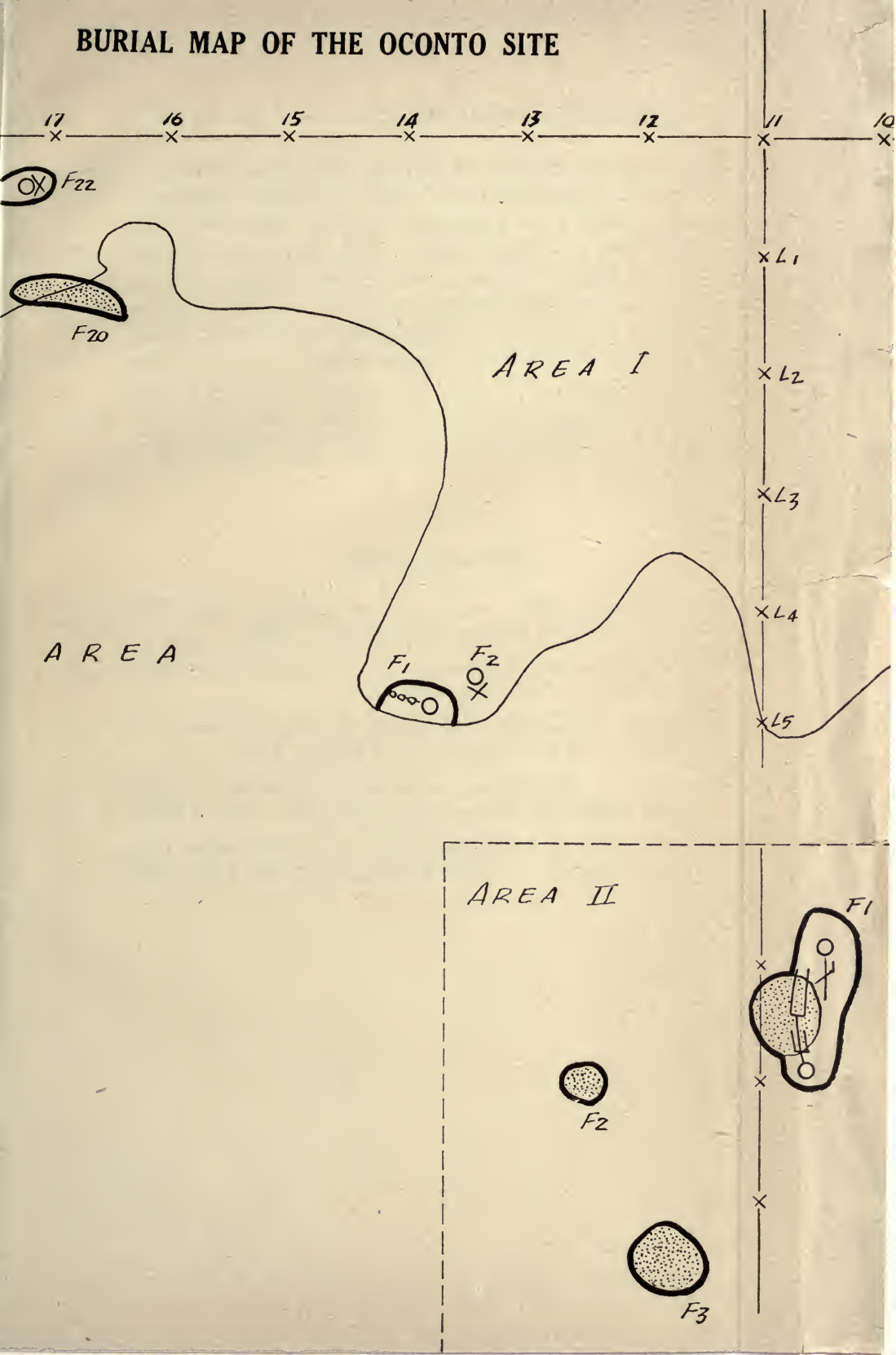
FEATURE F

STAKE x

SCALE 0 5' 10'

BURIAL MAP

BURIAL MAP OF THE OCONTO SITE



Concerning the problem of dating, there was nothing at either site to dispute the theory that Old Copper represents an archaic horizon in Wisconsin, and that these were the earliest Indians to occupy the site. The Oconto site, in fact, bolsters this theory because of such evidence as the absence of pottery and the bone whistle of a type found in archaic sites outside the state (see Ritchie, 1944, p. 294, and Webb, 1946, p. 305). As for more precise dating, enough charred wood was obtained at Oconto for a carbon 14 analysis and it is hoped that the forthcoming analysis will provide the answer to the problem of the age of the Old Copper culture in Wisconsin.

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APPENDIX A

Field Catalogue — Oconto Site

Cat. No.	Description	(In inches) Lgt.	Width	Thickness	Association
O- 1	Copper Crescent. Knife or chopper type.	4-5|16	3-3|8	2|16	Found by Olson, in pit with 2 articulated burials in about Sq. 18 L 3.
O- 2	Copper Crescent. Ornament type.	3-	1-1|2	1|16	"
O- 3	Copper Spear-point. Fish-tail base, ridged blade Point length 1¾, tang 1⅞	3-5|8	-10|16	1|16	"
O- 4	Copper Bracelet. Open ends coming to points. Diameter	3-7|8	-11|16	1|8	Found by LaFave in pit with burials in Sq. 18 L 3.
O- 5	Copper Point. Broken tang	3-7|8	1-1|4	1|8	In disturbed soil, Area 2, Sq. 11 L 15. Probably associated with Cremation pit. (see Burial 2. F. 1) No association.
O- 6	Copper Spatula. One end pointed and bent back over main axis. Piece of fiber at this end. Opposite end thinned and rounded.	3-7|8	- 7|16	3|32	Near knee of extended burial, Burial 1, F. 1, Area 2, Sq. 11 L 15, and probably associated with it.
O- 7	Copper Artifact. Spatula or part of crescent?	2-1|2	- 3|4	1|16	In cremation pit, Burial 2, F. 1, Area 2, Sq. 11 L 15.
O- 8	Copper Crescent. With 3 fragments that seem to be layers from it. Found with two fragments of birchbark preserved by contact. Section of fiber also preserved by contact.	2-1|2	- 9|16	1|8	On vertebrae of child in pit, F. 1, Sqs. 14 L 4 & 5.

Cat. No.	Description	(In inches) Lgt.	Width	Thickness	Association
O- 9	Copper Fishhook	1-9|16	-	1|16	In pit with burial. F. 6. Sq. 20 & 21 L 2.
O-10	Copper Artifact (Part of awl?) Rectangular in cross-section.	1-1|16	- 3|16	1|16	Sq. 23, 3" below humus. No association.
O-11	Copper Artifact (Part of Awl?) Rectangular in cross-section.	1-1|8	- 3|16	1|32	Sq. 21 R 1, .4' below humus. No association.
O-12	Copper Awl. Square in cross-section	2-1|16	- 3|32		Sq. 22 L 2, 7" below humus. No association.
O-13	Copper Awl. Rectangular in cross-section	3-1|4	1|8x5|32		Sq. 19 L 3 in disturbed area, near No assiciation.
O-14	Copper Awl. Bent in two places. Square in cross-section	2-1|8	- 1|16		Near top of cremation pit. F. 8. .2' below top of pit. Sq. 23 L 2.
O-15	Copper Awl. Rectangular in cross-section.	3-15|16	- 1|4	1|8	In Sq. 19 R 2, .9' below humus. No association.
O-16	Copper Awl. Square in cross-section	2-15|16	- 1|8		In Sq. 24 L 1, 2" below humus. No association.
O-17	Copper Awl. Rectangular in cross-section. Expanded near top.	4-5|16	- 1|4	1|8	Sq. 26, .7' below humus. No association.
O-18	Copper Artifact. Double-pointed.	1-	- 1|8	1|16	Sq. 20 L 2, 6" below humus. No association.
O-19	Chipped-stone point. Straight base and sides. Side notched. Secondary retouching.	1-3|8	1-		With bone awl near head of infant at edge of pit in F. 7. See O-26.

Cat. No.	Description	(In inches) Lgt.	Width	Thick-ness	Association
O-20	Chipped-stone Point. Straight base, curved sides. Side notched. Secondary retouching.	1-15|16	1-1|8		5" from knee of partially flexed burial (B) in F. 3, Sqs. 19 L1 & 2.
O-21	Chipped-stone point. Straight base, straight sides Side notched (broken at one notch)	1-1|8	-3|4		In Sq. 17, in humus, 1" from surface. No association.
O-22	Chipped-stone Point. Base broken, curved sides, side notching.	1-7|8	1-5|16		In disturbed soil, Sq. 18 L 1. No association.
O-23	Chipped-stone Point. Fragment of upper portion. Tang base 7|8" long.	1-7|8			In humus, area 2, Sq. 9 L 16. No association.
O-24	Chipped-stone Scraper.	1-3|8	1-		In Sq. 23 R 1, F. 17 in association with partially flexed (?) burial. Next to an arm bone—probably the radius.
O-25	Bone Whistle. Made of a deer tibia. Length 6-1|8", 3|4" in diam. Rectangular opening at top 1" long by 1|4" wide, 2-1|8" from end. 2 holes 1|8" in diam. cut in either side 5|16" below middle of opening. 3 rows of incised lines for decoration, each line approx. 1|4" in length and about 1|4" apart. Row at bottom has 27 lines, one row at top has 30, other row at top has 23. Bone is highly polished.				Found at back of head of child extending down into ribs of Burial 2, F. 5, Sq. 20 L 3. See O-34.
O-26	Bone Awl. Made from a fish jaw. Oval in cross-section. Both ends pointed.	2-5|8	- 3|16	1|8	With stone point near head of infant at edge of pit F. 7.
0-27	Antler Tip. Tip polished.	4-5|8	- 3|4	dia.	Between heel of flexed female and head of infant in F. 7.
O-28	Antler Tip. Tip polished.	3-1|4	- 7|16		Next to O-27.

Cat. No.	Description	(In inches) Lgt.	Width	Thickness	Association
O-29	Antler Tip. Charred.	1-3|4	- 5|8		In F. 11 (Charcoal concentration).
O-30	Lot of Pond Snails (Campeloma decisum). 14 complete ones plus fragments of more. Centrally perforated for stringing as bracelet.	-3|4			Found by LaFave with burial. Apparently at wrist as though worn as bracelet.
O-31	2 parts of shoulder of lightning shell, type of whelk (Fulgar perversus). Present distribution Atlantic Coast from N. Carolina to Florida. From a large shell about 1 foot long and about 6" in diameter.				Found by LaFave in pit with burials in 18 L 3.
O-32	2 parts of Clam Shell (Unio ellipsis) a fresh-water clam. Nearest source at present—Miss. River.				" " "
C-33	Chipped-stone Point.	2	1-1|16		None. Found just below humus in Area 2.
O-34	Two Lumps of Iron Ore.				With Burial 2, F. 5, under whistle O-25.
O-35	Copper Crescent. Ornament type.	2-1|8	- 3|16	1|16	In Square 25. With burned bone fragments 2.3' below humus.
O-36	Copper Rivet. Head is 1|8" in diameter, opposite end sharply pointed.	-5|16			F. 12. In lump of fused sand.
O-37	Copper Awl. Rectangular in cross-section. Heavily encrusted with fused sand. Broken into 3 sections.	5-1|4	- 1|2	1|4	In F. 12. In lump of fused sand. (approximate only)

(For skeletal material see Milwaukee Public Museum Accession No. 17276)

APPENDIX B

Field Catalogue — Oconto Site
Jensen Collection *

A. Socketed-tang copper spear-point with rounded tip. Length 4-1|8", point 1-7|8", tang 2-1|4".
B. Piece of spirally-coiled copper tubing. Length 1-7|8", outer diameter 3|16", width of coils 5|16".
C. Copper clasp. Ends pointed, end bent back. Length 7|16", width 3|16", thickness 1|32".
D. Copper Clasp. Length 5|16", width 1|4", thickness 1|32". Bent in half.
E. Copper Clasp. Ends doubled over and joined at center. Length 5|16", width 3|16", thickness 1|16".
F. Pond snail (Campeloma decisum). Perforation near center. Length 3|4".

* In possession of Mr. R. Jensen, 816 Scherer Avenue, Oconto,

OTOLITHS AS ORNAMENTS

By Arthur Niehoff

An unusual type of ornament used by Wisconsin Indians are otoliths. They are made up of solid concretions of lime, found in the inner ear of most bony fishes. The lime is laid down in layers; this being clearly indicated in cross section of the ear-stone. To ichthylogists these layers provide a means of estimating the age of the fish. Also, the enamelled surfaces have characteristic grooves and markings, which along with the shape and size of the ear-stones, furnishes a means of identifying the species. These particular otoliths have a comma-like indentation on one surface. The concave side of a series of roughly parallel ridges.

The largest otholith are found among the Drums (Sciaenidae)[1]. Most of the members of this family are marine fishes. There is one fresh water representative in the Great Lakes region, the sheepshead. It is from this fish that these stones are derived.

Otoliths have been found at a great many sites in Wisconsin, though there have been no previous reports of their hav-

[1] Hubbs, Carl L. and Karl L. Lagler, "Fishes of the Great Lakes Region", p. 95. Cranbrook Institute of Science, Bull. 26, 1947.

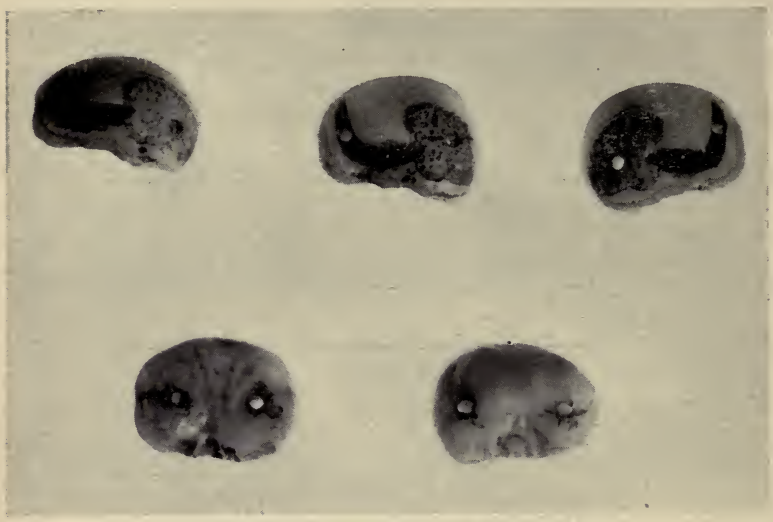

Fig. 1

ing been used for ornaments. [2] The specimens pictured (Fig. 1) were received by the Milwaukee Public Museum in a collection of Wisconsin artifacts. While the exact location where they were found is not known, it is probably somewhere in Wisconsin. In length they are approximately three-fourths of an inch. They have been perforated at two points, indicating that they were strung, probably either for a necklace or a bracelet. Finding the ear-stone in an unaltered condition could indicate merely that sheepshead were used for food and the otoliths were just a part of the discarded refuse.

In ancient times in Europe otoliths are reported to have been used as a preventive of colic and also as a talisman to avert the evil eye. There is also mentioned by Pliny a remedy for fever and ague among the Romans, using "the small stones found in the head of Asellus, when the moon is full, and attached in linen to the patients body".[3] This fish has not been exactly identified but is thought to be in the Drum family.

[2] Personal Communication from W. C. McKern.

[3] Radcliffe, William, "Fishing from the Earliest Times", p. 261. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1921.

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN COPPER PENDANTS FROM WISCONSIN AND GEORGIA

By Robert E. Ritzenthaler

In a recent lssue of the Wisconsin Archeologist (Vol. 32, No. 3) new finds of Upper Mississippi copper pendants were reported. Our attention was called by Mr. T. M. N. Lewis of the University of Tennessee Anthropology Department to the similarity in shape between one of these and some reported for the Etowah site in Georgia by Moorehead.[1] In particular it was observed that the Wisconsin one described as the "keyhole" type (Fig. 1) resembled in shape three of a group of ten copper pendants found in Mound C at Etowah and pictured on page 40 (see Fig. 2) of the Moorehead report. These are described as miniatures of a baton (or mace) held in the hand of a figure on an embossed copper plate recovered at the site and pictured in figure 14 of the report (see Fig. 3). It might also be observed that the so-called "comma" shape from Wisconsin is somewhat similar to the "weeping eye" symbol of the Southeast, and that the "snake" shape from Wisconsin has some resemblances to the tassels (or stylized feathers) hanging from the mace of the Etowah figure. These latter two similarities are certainly more speculative and less convincing.

The similarity between Wisconsin copper pendants and design elements from the South was pointed out by Pasco and McKern in 1947 (Wis. Arch., N. S. Vol. 28, No. 4, pp. 72-75). It was observed that a copper pendant found at an Upper Mississippi site, also in Green Lake County, and decorated with an equal-armed cross with a series of raised nodes filling in the areas between the arms of the cross bore a striking resemblance to that design found on a Middle Mississippi stone ear spool from the Spiro Mound in Oklahoma.

The affiliation between the Mississippi cultures of the Great Lakes region and those of the Southeast having long been recognized, and there is a general acceptance of the thesis that

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[1] Moorehead, W. K. Exporations of the Etowah Site in Georgia. Yale University Press, 1932.

Fig. 1. Wisconsin Copper Pendants

the former have been derived from the latter. Yet the details of the northward diffusion of Mississippi cultures pose some problems still unsettled. One of the most intriguing of these is the problem of whether the Upper Mississippi culture was

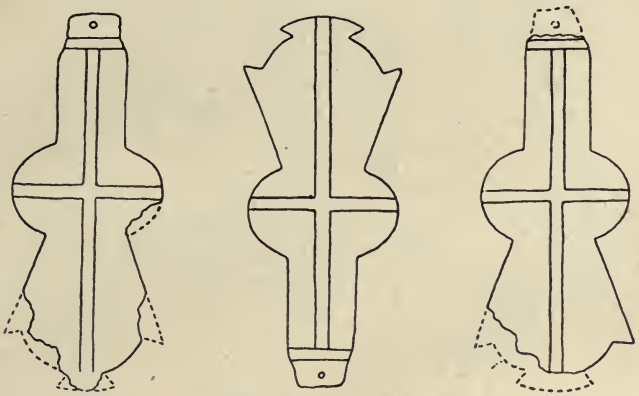

Figure 17. Etowah Group: Mound C (Temple Mound). Three of a group of ten copper pendants from Grave 6*a*. These represent in miniature the baton held in the hand of figure 14. 2-3.

Fig. 2

derived from Middle Mississippi, vice versa, or did each spring from a common base. The shred of evidence offered by pendants, if one accepts the idea that some of those from Wisconsin were derived from the culture represented by Etowah, would suggest that Upper Mississippi was derived from Middle Mississippi, or at least a culture strong influenced by Middle Mississippi. This theory has had some support by such men as Baerreis [2] while McKern [3] on the other hand believes there is a greater probability that Middle was derived from a common base for both phases of Mississippi.

The pendant evidence, by itself, is too minute and inconclusive to have any significant value to the problem of Mississippi origins, but one such detail may serve as a link in the chain of evidence necessary for the solution of the problem.

[2] Baerreis, David. Personal Communication.
[3] McKern, W. C. Personal Communication.

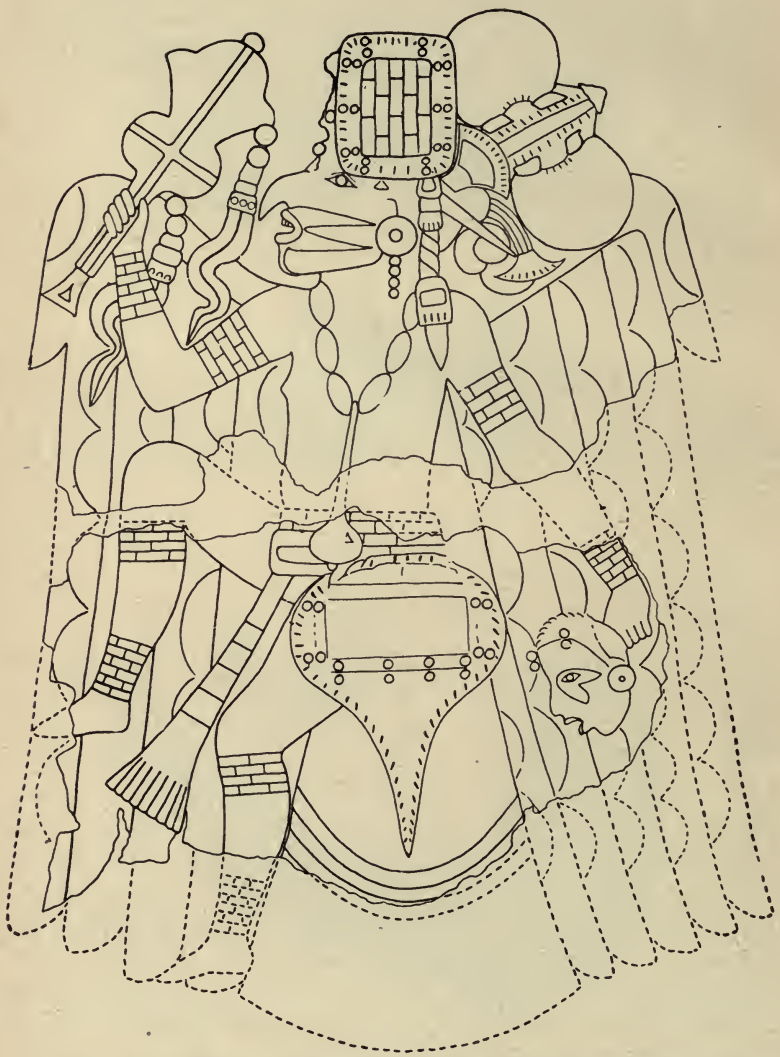

Figure 14. Etowah Group: Mound C (Temple Mound). Embossed copper plate (Exploration of the Bureau of Ethnology), showing dancer wearing eagle paraphernalia. He carries in his right hand a baton-like object on which appears a cross, and in his left the head of the individual illustrated in figure 13. Original length about 20 inches.

Fig. 3

BOOK REVIEW

By Arthur Niehoff

Libby, Willard F., Radiocarbon Dating. Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1952. Price $3.50.

Radiocarbon dating is the most promising new method of providing an absolute chronology for archeology since the tree-ring dating technique used in the Southwest. For the past three years work has been done, primarily at the University of Chicago, in devising and refining techniques for measuring archeological and geological samples according to their radiocarbon content. **Radiocarbon Dating** is a complete description by the original researcher of the theoretical base for the method, the techniques used in the laboratory, the materials used and the proper way for the collector to handle them in the field.

Probably of greatest use to those interested in American archeology are the tables of dates found at the end of the book in which all dates obtained at the University of Chicago prior to the fall of 1951 are listed. Also there is an excellent evaluation and criticism of dates and sequences of dates by Frederick Johnson as to their internal consistency and their comparison to dates arrived at by other methods.

Even though there are some few dates which are in variance to previous estimates of their age or chronology, the large majority seem acceptable. Undoubtedly there needs to be refinements in measurements and in the collection of specimens, but just with the dates already arrived at the method seems to be established as a sound and fruitful one.

ARCHEOLOGICAL NOTES

Field Work

The Wisconsin Archeological Society is an organization for the purpose of recording and preserving Wisconsin Indian Antiquities. How well our society has followed these purposes is evident in our aid in the acquisition for permanent preservation of such well known archeological sites as Ancient Aztalan and Lizard Mound State Park. Members of the society have been actively engaged in numerous

archeological activities such as conducting surveys of Indian mound groups, particularly in the Horicon marsh area, excavating and recording of information relative to the "Old Copper" culture in Oconto county, gathering and interpreting data on Wisconsin Indian place names, and restoring certain Indian mound groups for public interest. These are only part of many undertakings which are a contributing factor to our accumulated wealth of archeological knowledge of the State of Wisconsin.

Dr. E. G. Bruder of Milwaukee has spent a great deal of time in conducting surveys of the many Indian mound groups in the vicinity of Horicon marsh. Some of his records have been published in recent issues of the Wisconsin Archeologist. Due to his intense interest in the area, Dr. Bruder brought to the attention of the society many important Indian mounds that heretofore have been recorded.

Dr. W. W. Kuhm of Milwaukee required four years of intensive research to gather information necessary to complete his manuscript on "Wisconsin Indian Place Names" published by the society in 1952. Due to a growing demand for this publication, a reprint may be necessary in the near future as the present supply is very limited.

Dr. Robert Ritzenthaler and Mr. Arthur Niehoff, Anthropologists at the Milwaukee Public Museum, and Mr. Warren Wittry of Madison, Wisconsin, excavated a series of Indian burials in Oconto county, Wisconsin after reports reached them of "Old Copper" artifacts being found there. The result of their findings and interpretations of perhaps the eldest cultural manifestation in Wisconsin was related by them before the September 15, 1952 meeting of the Wisconsin Archeological Society.

An Indian mound survey of the group in Lizard Mound State Park near West Bend, Wisconsin was undertaken for the purpose of restoring individual mounds to a somewhat original form. In the spring of 1951, Mr. Will C. McKern, Director of the Milwaukee Public Museum, Dr. Robert Ritzenthaler, Curator of Anthropology of that institution and Secretary Kermit Freckmann, all members of the Wisconsin Arch-

eological Society, met with representatives of the State Conservation Department for the purpose of planning the mound restoration. Although it may be said that the Indian mounds in this park are exceptionally well preserved, many minor corrections were necessary in order to restore each mound to its more original form. Many factors take place to mutilate and eventually destroy an Indian mound, even such mounds as are seemingly protected by abundant vegetation as in this case. Some of these destructive factors are as follows:

1. Gradual washing and settling of the surface material of the mound.
2. Animal burrowing, such as the badger, fox, rabbit, gopher.
3. Windfalls, where large amounts of earth have been scattered by fallen trees.
4. Leaf mold collecting at the outer edges of the mound and gradually diminishing the sharp break between the mound proper and the surrounding level.
5. Worn paths over mounds and other destruction caused by man or his domestic animals. Logging operations have also been a definite factor where cut logs have been dragged over mounds thereby cutting and mutilating certain portions of the surface.
6. Faster destruction of part or whole by vandals, or by cultivation, building, etc.

All of these problems were encountered at Lizard Mound State Park. Because Secretary Kermit Freckmann was the most familiar with these problems and had maintained close contact with the site since 1941, he was given the task of placing wooden stakes at the recognized outlines of each mound at close intervals. This would act as a guide to the Conservation Department workmen in removing two or three inches of leaf mold at or near the outer edges of the mound. Also all displaced ground outside of the stakes could be replaced on the mound in designated areas. All of the six problems listed above were encountered, and were to be corrected, and in addition a four foot wide boundary around each mound was cleared of brush and other vegetation for

two purposes: first, to allow for a pathway around each mound in order to facilitate better viewing, and second, to allow more sunlight on the mound to insure a good growth of grass. Some dead trees and small saplings were removed from the surfaces of the mounds for better appearance as well as a safety measure. Although this restoration program is not yet complete, requests have come from the Forest and Parks division of the Wisconsin Conservation Department for the same method of restoration for other state parks that have Indian mounds within the boundaries but are not as yet featured. It is hoped that the work we are doing may be a desirable pattern to follow in future mound restoration programs.

A trip to Devils Lake State Park in July 1952 was made by Dr. E. G. Bruder and Secretary Kermit Freckmann to study restoration possibilities of several Indian mound groups on the shores of that beautiful lake. Although the existence of these mounds were known at an early date, no accurate description of them is at present available.

Mr. C. L. Harrington, Superintendent of Forest and Parks has requested a survey of the remaining mounds and desires to have them restored in the manner being done at Lizard Mound State Park. Tentative arrangements have been made to complete this work in the spring of 1953.

Meetings

Wisconsin Archeological Society meetings are held on the third Monday of each month in the Conference Room, second floor, Milwaukee Public Museum. The public is cordially invited. No meetings are held during July and August of each year. In the past several years the June meeting has been held at some designated place where dinner is served to the members after which a regular conducted meeting constitutes the evening program. This form of meeting has proved very popular with the membership and has become an annual affair.

On May 19th and 20th, 1951 members of the Wisconsin Archeological Society attended the organizational meeting of the Iowa State Archeological Society at McGregor, Iowa at the request of Mrs. Joseph Kennedy of Effigy Mound Na-

tional Monument. Those members of our society attending were Mr. and Mrs. Robert Ritzenthaler, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Cornell, Dr. and Mrs. E. G. Bruder, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Leitz, Mr. and Mrs. Kermit Freckmann and Mr. Louis Pierron. The group was well received and spent the night at the McGregor Heights Hotel. The following morning a formal meeting was held at the Hotel for the purpose of organizing the new society. There were about twelve representatives from Iowa who were to form the nucleus of the new society. An election of officers was held with Joseph Kennedy elected as the first president of the Iowa State Archeological Society. The new organization has made considerable progress since then and we wish them continued success.

The Wisconsin Archeological Society will celebrate a 50th anniversary at a dinner to be held at the Underwood Hotel, Wauwatosa, Wisconsin on the 3rd Monday in June 1953. President E. G. Bruder appointed a program committee for the event consisting of Chairman Robert Ritzenthaler, Dr. H. W. Kuhm, Herman Zander, Charles Koubeck and Dr. E. G. Bruder.

The Wisconsin Archeological Society has been granted membership in the Wisconsin State Archeological Survey. Secretary Kermit Freckmann was appointed as the delegate to that organization.

Dr. David Baerreis of Madison reported the forming of a chapter of the Wisconsin Archeological Society which will be known as the Charles E. Brown Branch. Their first meeting was held Nov. 1st, 1952 at the State Historical Museum in Madison with 25 in attendance. Persons in other parts of the state who are interested in forming their own chapter may contact the secretary for information and suggestions.

New Members

The following is a list of new members:

Almer E. Rexin, 3934 N. Sherman Blvd., Milwaukee.
Richard Gorski, Rahr Civic Center, Manitowoc
Chester H. Bragg, 232 S. Michigan Street, South Bend, Indiana.
Earl F. Croisant, Omro, Wisconsin
Arthur Niehoff, Anthropology Division, Milwaukee Mus-

eum, Milwaukee.
Robert J. Menten, 4557-W. Spencer Place, Milwaukee
Donald V. Estenson, 3229 S. Dayfield Avenue, Milwaukee
Robert R. Glenn, Wilmette, Illinois
Arthur Nolde, 2511 S. 84th Street, Milwaukee.
Elmer Genzmer, Mayville, Wisconsin
Frank Panzer, Oakfield, Wisconsin
Marion Isaacs, Valparaiso, Indiana
Alvin P. Dietz, 2574-A N. 39th Street, Milwaukee
Edward McCabe, 2437 S. 28th Street, Milwaukee
Dr. O. H. Bauman, Wabeno, Wisconsin
Mrs. N. H. Casler, Spooner, Wisconsin
Dr. T. Hugh Young, Nashville, Tenn.
William Smail, Loogootee, Illinois
Harry Hartman, Oconto, Wisconsin
Norman Lederer, 3113-N. 40th Street, Milwaukee
Joseph Menten, Manitowoc, Wisconsin
C. J. Wolff, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin
E. Eichenberger, Waukesha, Wisconsin
Col. Phil LaFollette, Madison .
William Bruder, Mayville, Wisconsin
Mrs. E. G. Bruder, 1134-W. Burleigh Street, Milwaukee
Jon Doerflinger, Madison
Judith Whitney, 414 N. 26th Street, Milwaukee
Paul Beaubien, Omaha, Nebraska
Ellis Burcaw, Green Bay, Wisconsin
Robert Maher, 4612 N. Larkin Street, Milwaukee
Robert C. Alberts, Williamsville, New York.

Kermit Freckmann, Secretary

THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGIST

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Golden Anniversary

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WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Incorporated 1903

For the purpose of advancing the study and preservation of Wisconsin Indian Antiquities.

Meets every third Monday of the month at the Milwaukee Public Museum Conference Room. (Except during July and August.)

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All communications in regard to the Wisconsin Archeological Society and contributions to the Wisconsin Archeologist should be addressed to Kermit Freckmann, 4240 N. 36th St., Milwaukee 16, Wisc. Entered as Second Class Matter at the Post Office at Milwaukee, Wisconsin under the Act of Aug. 21, 1912.

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TRADE SILVER AND INDIAN SILVER WORK IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION

By Robert C. Alberts

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Foreword

Historical reconstruction is not alone the product of research in ancient manuscripts, for at of least tantamount value is the study of relics. Even in the presence of precise contemporary accounts, examination of artifacts contributes information which valuably supplements the written word. Indian-white relations in northeastern North America, from the 17th century onward, provide such a circumstance, and in the reconstruction of the history of these relations the study of metallic ornaments stands to contribute information of remarkable value and variety in proportion to its seeming significance.

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, and even well into the 1800's, the keystone of the Europeans' diplomatic endeavors in the direction of the Indians of the Northeast and of the Great Lakes area was the presentation of enormous quantities of gifts. Among the sundry merchandise and trappings included in these presents were great numbers of brass, copper and silver ornaments of many sorts. It is thus to be expected that improved knowledge of the latter items will provide revealing details relative to the ranges of contact, and degrees of influence upon the natives, of the several colonial powers established in the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi valley regions. With whom the native tribes preferred to ally themselves, and the situations arising from such alliances, are other aspects of the period's history which can be illuminated by the study of metallic ornaments, for regional and temporal variations in styles and patterns in many cases can be well identified as to origin. Of no less import is the light which can be cast upon missionary activities of an earlier period by the study of crosses, crucifixes, rings and medallions—gifts of the Jesuits to their Indian converts. Variations in style and composition of these objects, through time and space, are extremely revealing of both native and European attitudes and activities.

The fact that metal jewelry and ornaments early came into great popularity as exchange media in the fur trade of the Great Lakes and Northeast, and soon comprised an integral aspect of the period's economy, again betokens the potential

value of more adequate knowledge of these articles. But not only is investigation of ornament types of relevance to better understanding of Indian-white relations; information on a notable variety of other phenomena, such as inter-tribal contacts and alliances, native migrations, and aesthetic standards and Indian concepts of value, can be garnered both from examination of particular collections of recovered specimens and from sequences of artifact types. Furthermore, the study of trade jewelry provides an important chronological tool for the ethno-historian and the archaeologist, for establishment of typological sequences of these articles, as well as identification of the sources of their manufacture, yields a device of great utility in both exact and relative dating.

Of equal concern to the anthropologist, however, is the impact of trade ornaments upon native cultures, for one important consequence of this impact was the rise of a native silvercraft. Knowledge of the trade jewelry available to native smiths, as well as the circumstances surrounding its acquisition, thus becomes of paramount significance in this quarter of ethnological inquiry.

It should not be thought, however, that contemporary documents have little place in the study of trade silver jewelry and similar metallic articles of the fur trade period, for frequently it is such sources which first permit assemblage of details relating to particular ornamental forms. This is especially true of records and inventory lists of the fur companies which employed such vast quantities of bracelets, brooches and similar articles in their trading operations with the aborigines, while the invoices and memoranda of white silversmiths provide abundant details on the types of ornaments popular at certain periods, and as well, of the disposition of such products. Journals of travelers and adventurers, notably important sources of information for historical developments in the upper Mississippi valley, are similarly relevant to the study of trade silver jewelry, since not infrequently they contain valuable descriptions of native apparel and accouterment of the early period. But the ornamental specimens are in themselves important sources of information, for not only do they indicate much about native-white contacts, but

identifying marks not uncommon upon them often make clear the circumstances and dates of their provenance. Summarily, a study of Indian trade ornaments of the upper Mississippi valley, far from being an esoteric or abstruse academic project, is unquestionably highly relevant to historical interpretation, archaeological reconstruction and ethnological investigation in the region.

In the present study an attempt has been made to deal only with the more important aspects of the investigation of ornaments of white and native manufacture, emphasizing most those pertinent to anthropological interests. Though the focus is upon silver ornaments in particular, and hence upon the period following the mid-18th century, ornaments of other varieties are taken up to some extent.

The first two chapters review historical events which will prove most relevant to the material afterward discussed, while Chapter III is an exposition of the utility of hallmarks and touch marks in the identification of trade silver and, to a more general extent, in historical reconstruction. The following chapter summarizes the principal types of trade ornaments, while Chapter V discusses the origins of the native craft and several of its regional manifestations, special reference being given to the silverwork of the Wisconsin tribes. The remaining chapters briefly discuss trade and native silverwork in three notable museum collections in Wisconsin and Iowa.

The Plates contain illustrations cited throughout the text, and reference to the pictured specimens is indispensable to adequate comprehension of the propositions advanced. Footnotes, as well as supplying pertinent data, indicate cited works by author and publication date. Reference to the Bibliography will provide full titles of the works thus indicated as well as titles of principal background sources. A final source of information is the data appearing in the Appendix. These provide details on dimensions, provenience, museum catalogue numbers and other matters relating to the items illustrated in the Plates.

In the preparation of this study the aid of a number of individuals was enlisted, and to them the writer should like to express his gratitude. For making museum facilities and

specimens available and for valuable suggestions and helpful cooperation, the writer gratefully acknowledges debt to the following: Mr. W. E. Whittlesey, Secretary-Treasurer, and Mrs. Mizener, Museum Secretary, both of the Davenport Public Museum, Davenport, Iowa; Dr. Robert E. Ritzenthaler and Mr. Robert Lietz, both of the Anthropology Department of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Mr. James E. Lundsted, Curator of Anthropology, Oshkosh Public Museum, Oshkosh, Wisconsin.

Mr. Robert L. Hall, of the Museum of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, procured for the writer's use helpful data on specimens in the collection of the Neville Public Museum, Green Bay, Wisconsin. In addition, Mr. Hall, and Mr. Warren Wittry, also of the Museum of the State Historical Society, provided helpful information concerning the Society's collections.

Dr. David A. Baerreis, of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the University of Wisconsin, originally brought to the writer's attention the possibility of an analysis of the Putnam Collection of the Davenport Public Museum, and subsequently he provided much valuable criticism and many helpful recommendations. The writer is further indebted both to Dr. Baerreis and Dr. Ritzenthaler for suggestions concerning organization of the material in present form.

Dr. Marius Barbeau, of the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa, and Dr. George I. Quimby, Jr., of the Chicago Natural History Museum, gave kind consideration to the inquiries made of them by the writer and each supplied numerous profitable leads.

The present study is a revision of the writer's thesis submitted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, Master of Science, Anthropology, at the University of Wisconsin, 1951. The original work, which may be consulted at the University Library at Madison, contains somewhat fuller documentation, in both text and illustrations, than the present form.

The photographs were taken by the writer, and in their preparation he wishes here to acknowledge the generous and capable aid of his wife, Elizabeth.

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF TRADE SILVER

The Rise of the Fur Trade in the Upper Mississippi Valley

For almost two centuries, from the discovery of Wisconsin in 1634 until after 1800, trade in furs remained the primary activity in the region of the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi valley, and in this activity the French were the first to assume a dominant role.

Perhaps the signal event in the establishment of French influence in the New World was the founding of the city of Quebec in 1608 by the indefatigable Champlain. By this date the vast claims of Spanish Florida had dwindled in significance, the English colonies were soon to flourish along the Atlantic seaboard, and the French in the St. Lawrence had begun to send explorers, missionaries and traders through the river valley to the Great Lakes. Champlain felt it in the interests of his enterprise to establish missions among the Indians, and within the decade following the founding of Quebec the first missionaries traveled westward. Le Caron, the French Franciscan, passed through lands inhabited by the Iroquois to reach the eastern basin of Lake Huron in 1616, and in 1639 the Jesuits established a mission on the shores of Georgian Bay, near the present city of Midland, Ontario. [1]

The early date of the explorations of Jean Nicolet is of particular significance in regard to the opening of the western Great Lakes, for Nicolet was among the first white men to visit (1634) what is now the State of Wisconsin, concluding peace agreements with the local Indians in the name of the French. In 1639 he ascended the Fox River to the portage and continued west to explore the Wisconsin River almost to the Mississippi. Historians of the period are much in his debt for the chronicles he compiled mentioning locations and customs of the native tribes, but more than this, his favorable reports of the locale stimulated interest among his countrymen.

[1] This site, known as Ste. Marie I, served until 1649 as the center of the Jesuits' activities among the Huron. An excellent report on archaeological investigations conducted there is available in **Kidd, 1949.** See below, Ch. IV.

Such reports, concerning the potential advantages of fur trade with the Indians, circulated in France where they induced the French nobility to invest in New World settlement, and under this influence the numbers of colonists grew steadily, commerce increased rapidly and New France extended her domain ever-further west.

After the midpoint of the 17th century, exploration, hand in hand with zealous missionary penetration, opened the remaining quarters of the western Great Lakes. French fur traders and adventurers pushed west to Lake Superior and Rene Mesnard founded the first mission station on its shores (at Chegoimegon Bay) in 1660, while in 1668 Dablon and Marquette established the mission at Sault Ste. Marie. To venerable Father Claude Allouez is given credit for the building of the first permanent Wisconsin outpost, the mission he founded at Green Bay in 1669. Thereafter follows a series of Frenchmen whose names and estimable accomplishments remain prominent in the region's lore; to mention but several, Nicholas Perrot was soon to explore the southern portions of Lake Michigan, Marquette was to leave Mackinac in 1673 to follow Nicolet's route to the Mississippi, and La Salle's journies in the years 1679-1682 were to open the "Louisiana" territory bringing great numbers of colonists from Canada. The latter event led to the settlement of Kaskaskia and Cahokia (about 1680), the two oldest settlements in the valley of the Mississippi.

At this time the English merchants in the Colonies were desirous of securing a greater share in the rich fur trade which had been established by the French in the Northwest. In the middle-1680's they extended such efforts to Michillimackinac, operation-center of the French **voyageurs** and **coureurs de bois** and the first permanent settlement in Michigan, and entered their cheaper and better goods in competition with the French —which eventuality was genially received by the Indians. Contemporaneously, the English posts in the Hudson Bay district began to bid for the trade surrounding, and the French, justly alarmed lest their native trading partners, who were valuable allies as well, slip away from them, initiated a new phase in their regime. In essence, the new policy amounted

to protecting French interests from encroachment or invasion by the English and their Iroquois allies by the building of a line of strategically located fortified posts. Perhaps the best known chain of these was that under the jurisdiction of Perrot who, being in charge of the Green Bay region, was responsible for the posts at Trempealeau, Fort St. Antoine (at which trade with the Sioux was conducted), a station as far west as the Des Moines River, and as well, Fort St. Nicholas at the mouth of the Wisconsin.

The period of the Fox Wars, foreshadowed at the century's turn, marked the first decline of French authority and brought about the alienation of such worthy French allies as the Fox, Sauk, Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Ottawa and Miami, various of whom joined the English and their Indian cohorts. Disorganization among the Indians and the attendant series of migrations during these wars greatly weakened the French and adumbrated the rise of British sovereignty, and after the fall of Quebec and Montreal (1759 and 1760) the French influence, especially in the Wisconsin region, was all but ended.

Thereafter it but remained for the English to reestablish trade with the Indians through channels organized by their predecessors, whereupon the British fur industry rose to new monopolistic proportions. [2]

The period was marked by the formation of a number of the major fur companies, most noteworthy among which were the Northwest Company, founded by three Montreal merchants in 1784 by the amalgamation of a number of lesser concerns and independent traders of eastern Canada; the American Fur Company, incorporated in 1809 under a charter from the State of New York secured by John Jacob Astor; and the Makinaw Company, a competitor of the Northwest Company, of which Astor bought half interest to form the

[2] Among the "channels" organized by both the French and English, employment of the Indians as "middlemen" was not uncommon. The French made particular use of the Huron tribes, while the Iroquois were of course primary aids to the British. In time, however, westward penetration of the colonial powers obviated the necessity of costly Indian intermediaries, and by such time the economies of these tribes had become so greatly modified as to render extremely difficult curtailment of their business activities.

Southwest Company in 1811. The operations of the Astor Fur Company and the Pacific Fur Company, although to some degree connected with the trade in the Great Lakes area, were more intensive in the provinces of western Canada and in the Oregon Territory.

The Fur Trade and Indian Diplomacy

Evidence as ancient as that dating from the Norse contacts in "Vinland," at which time these European visitors met natives who bought of them "red cloth for which they offered in exchange peltries and quite grey skins," [3] testifies to the fact that consideration of Indian customs formed an integral aspect of the New World fur trade from its incipience. In his 1614 voyage along the New England coast, Captain John Smith acquired from the aborigines beaver skins to the number of 11,000, [4] while establishment of the Plymouth Colony enabled accelerative exploitation; between the years 1631 and 1636 Governor Bradford entered in his reports the shipment of 12,150 livres of beaver alone, this primarily taken in trade with the Indians. [5] "As early as 1629," says Frederick Jackson Turner, "the Dutch trade was estimated at 50,000 guilders per annum, and the Delaware trade alone produced 10,000 skins yearly in 1663." [6] Indeed, New Amsterdam was in its foundation and early years sustained entirely by the trade in furs. With the incorporation in 1670 of "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay" (Hudson's Bay Company) and the intensification of the French trade in the interior, fur production mounted to fabulous proportions. For the year 1735, for example, beaver pelts exported by the French totaled nearly 200,000 livres, while in 1739 exports for the Hudson's Bay Company numbered 70,000 skins. [7] European demands increasingly encouraged exploitation until by 1863 North American fur production amounted to over 5,000,000 pelts per year, was valued at 33% of the world output, and was notably better in quality and selling price than either the Russian or middle-European

3 **Turner, 1891,** p. 12.
4 **John Smith, 1819,** I.
5 **Bradford, 1899.**
6 **Turner, 1891,** p. 14f.
7 **Innis, 1927,** pp. 78 and 151.

production—and this long after the best days of the fur trade in the Northwest. [8]

When it is thus acknowledged that acquisition of furs from the Indians was a paramount industry during this early period, it becomes clear that, on the part of the Europeans, commercial exploitation, perhaps moreso than land appropriation, was an important factor in fostering New World colonization, and that on the part of the natives, desire for goods of European manufacture had early been created. This being the case, European trade goods and the Indian-white relations surrounding their exchange merit further investigation.

To the powerful colonial interests expanding westward in pursuit of furs, problems germane to Indian diplomacy early became critical. This aspect of the fur trade is not infrequently represented with over-simplicity as mere gift-giving to the end of winning native cooperation. Actually it might be said to have been the foundation upon which the Indian-white relations of the era were based. To be sure, one aspect of this interaction was in the nature of gift-giving, at least in its superficial character. Wilbur Jacobs, for example, emphasizes the importance of the participation of the French and British representatives in native customs of gift-giving. "Relations between tribes and confederacies," Jacobs states, "were often governed by presents. They were used for peace, for reward, for requests, for declaring war, as a tribute, as a mark of distinction, as a bribe, for thanks, and as a token of friendship." [9] The Europeans appear to have taken over the institution of gift-giving in all of these varieties. Their presents, which included such items as "fabrics, hardware, munitions, food, toys, jewelry, clothing, wampum, and liquors, were a potent factor in the complex diplomatic history of Indian policy along the old Northwest frontier. Thousands of pounds of sterling were expended both by the French and English in observing this old Indian custom that was so necessary to Indian diplomacy." [10]

In many cases, however, the aim of diplomatic endeavors

8 **Innis, 1927,** p. 83
9 **Jacobs, 1950,** p. 17.
10 **Jacobs, 1950,** p. 5

in the direction of the Indians was not toward cooperation but in fact toward survival. By way of illustration, the Spanish settlements in the lower Mississippi valley were endangered by the powerful Choctaws to an extent such that the governor of the colony of Louisiana, in reporting governmental expenses for the year 1767, noted that "they (the Choctaws) have been content with promises, but now they insist strongly that they be given these (presents), threatening war if denied. This is a tribe which could destroy various settlements of the colony if steps are not taken to satisfy it, and for said gifts some eight thousand pesos are needed." [11] Similarly, in the upper Mississippi valley, the French competed with the British in securing the friendship of powerful native confederacies which even late into the 18th century held the balance of power in much of North America. Certainly then many tribes, usually in proportion as they were powerful or influential, expected presents to be given them abundantly, promptly and continously, early becoming aware of the importance to the Europeans of their friendship, and patently in many instances capitalizing upon this knowledge. Indeed Anglo-French competition to secure Indian alliances progressed to a point where many native groups expected condolence presentations upon the deaths of tribal members, and Indian widows and their entire families were being supported by the whites. "In some cases," explains Jacobs, "the Indians became so accustomed to these frequent outlays of free merchandise that they came to be almost completely dependent upon European goods. After the conquest of Canada by the British, these extensive presents were sliced to a bare minimum. It was then that the powerful Algonquian tribes, who were formerly allied with the French, felt the pain of lack of ammunition and clothing—items so very necessary to their very existence. To a surprising degree, therefore, the Indian rebellion under Pontiac was caused by lack of presents." [12]

Thus, after the British had gained supremacy in the fur trade they entered upon a program one object of which was

[11] **Kinnaird, 1949,** p. 18.

[12] **Jacobs, 1950,** p. 5. During Pontiac's rebellion, which began in 1763, ten of the fourteen major British posts west of Pittsburgh were captured or destroyed.

the diminution of the enormous expenditures involved in Indian patronage. Many of the tribes were still to be fearfully regarded, but less so as they became increasingly dependent upon goods available exclusively through the British, and to this end the British manufacturers "studied the desires and needs of the aborigines with the express purpose that no urge for adornment or necessity would be overlooked." [13] By the beginning of the Revolution the British, by this and sundry similar devices, had attained nearly complete control of the Indian situation, their trade centering at Mackinac.

George Roger Clark, the American from Virginia, largely because "the American Congress was too poor to send a large amount of goods and ammunition to their Indian allies," initiated a new mode of dealing with the natives. "He assured them that he was absolutely indifferent whether they accepted peace with the American or not. 'I carry in my right hand war and in my left peace,' he told them, and explained that the Great Council Fire at Philadelphia had sent him to clear the roads for those who wished to be friends with the Americans." [14] Though a number of tribes, the Winnebago and Fox among them, entered into treaty agreements with the "Great Knife" (the name which the Americans' policy had earned them), alliances wavered little and the close of the Revolution saw the British largely in control—notably due to their ability to bribe the tribesmen with presents, as Kellogg notes. This ascendancy gained in their commercial relations with the Northwestern Indians the British had no intentions of relinquishing, and even after the country to the south of the Great Lakes had been ceded to the United States, British fur monopoly was affected negligibly.

To recapitulate in brief, the events of the fur trade era would seem to divide themselves into two chapters, each differing in character with regard to Indian-white relations. The French regime, the first, though marked by little interest in settlement, was a period of urgent missionary activity. It saw establishment of a mode of trade operation which was to

13 **Jacobs, 1950,** p. 44.
14 **Kellogg, 1929,** p. 49.

be followed even after the 1760's brought the wane of France's New World power. Of the decline of French influence one might comment that had this regime taken a more "functional" cognizance of changing aboriginal cultures under contact stimuli, its decline might have been less hasty, for upon this very strategy British authority was afterward built. However, though the presence of the French influenced Indian religion greatly, and material culture considerably, in great measure the Frenchmen traded among the Indians not as masters but as brothers. Their trading activities were such as not to evoke active resentment from the aborigines, a contingency which replacement of French by British sovereignty brought about. In commerce with the Indians the British found a key to native subjugation through economic dependency. With the cessation of Revolutionary hostilities and with the major problems of Anglo-native interrelations solved, the British proceeded to systematic fur trading upon a scale as grand as ever.

Having engaged in historical resume thus far, it now becomes advisable to examine more precisely the importance of silver in the period's events, documenting its place in Indian patronage and among trade media.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION OF THE SILVER TRADE

Silver in the Records of Traders, Merchants and Smiths

The popularity enjoyed by silver jewelry as an Indian trade commodity is attested by a great number of sources, most revealing among which may be the itemized orders sent by traders in the Northwest to their eastern suppliers. In these are requested extremely large numbers of sundry ornaments and paraphernalia of silver and other metals.

George I. Quimby, Jr., in an article in which he surveys the trade silver of the State of Michigan, reproduces several representative orders, among them that dated 1781 requesting of General Haldimand, Canadian territorial governor, presents for the Indians including the following:

"50 large silver Medals with the King's Bust on one side, the other arms.
100 small ditto—on one side the King's bust; the other Lion, Wolf . . .
500 Silver arm bands with the King's arms and supporters . . . engraved on them.
500 Wrist bands.
100 Silver Gorgets engraved with the King's arms and supporters . . .
1000 Silver shirt buckles . . . sorted.
500 pairs Silver earrings with drops, sorted." [1]

From the **Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections** come details concerning two shipments of "Indian presents &c" and "Sundry Indian Stores" sent from Montreal in 1814 and consigned to "Lieut. Coln. McDonall Comdg Michilimackinac." The shipments included a great variety of supplies and trade goods, the silver from the combined lists aggregating over 12,000 items, of which 7,500 were ear bobs, 5,514 brooches, and smaller numbers arm bands and gorgets. [2]

An impressive number of references from traders' journals, company records and invoices, and other contemporary documents and manuscripts, has been assembled by Marius Barbeau in his article entitled "Indian Trade Silver of Canada." Among the materials uncovered in the author's researches is an informative series of communications written in the years 1765-1788 by A. Duperon Baby to his brother, Francois Baby in Quebec, revealing some of the requirements for the local Indian trade at Detroit. A letter from Baby in 1774 requests "100 pairs of **'pendants d'oreilles petite, 24 ronds d'oreilles.'** " "The following year, he stated that he was forwarding money or furs to secure silverware . . . **'reele et non falsifee . . . de bon aloi et bien travaillee et polie,'** " his concern for the quality of the finished product being indicated in his statement, " 'As for the silver, it is not polished well enough to stand comparison with what is made in Montreal.' " [3]

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1 Quoted by **Quimby, 1937,** p. 20, from **The Knox Papers,** vol. 10.
2 **Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,** vol. XV, pp. 606-7, 655. Quoted by **Quimby, 1937,** p. 20.
3 **Barbeau, 1940b,** pp. 126-8.

Barbeau additionally presents excerpts from account books of the Canadian Indian Department, for 1779 and after, in which appears "an astonishing quantity of silverware which covers space on every page." "This," says Barbeau, "shows that silver ornaments were already, in 1779, a most substantial consideration in the affairs of the white man and the Indian." [4]

The preponderance of these orders was placed with Canadian smiths and tradesmen. Barbeau credits Narcisse Roy, a merchant conducting business in Montreal at the beginning of the 19th century, with selling to the Northwest Company the products of Montreal smiths totaling thousands of brooches, ear bobs, crosses, arm bands, ear wheels, gorgets, rings, etc., of which the first three items were the most numerous. The contributions of a number of other contemporary craftsmen and tradesmen residing in cities on the St. Lawrence merit mention. Of these the most noteworthy are Pierre Huguet Latour, "a Montreal silversmith of high standing," whose production was greatest around 1800, and Jonas Schindler, a Quebec muff-maker and silverworker who was active as early as 1767. Schindler, of whom more will be said, was the maker of a number of trade objects requested by Duperon Baby from Detroit, as indicated, for example, by a communication from the latter to his brother in 1799 in which was ordered silverwork of a value of four thousand French pounds, Baby's directions requiring his brother to contact a certain St. George Dupre "**qu'il fera faire par Schindler.**" [5]

Among the silversmiths of Montreal, however, the name of Robert Cruickshank is without doubt the most notable, for the records verifying his prolificness, as well as the vast number of recovered objects ascribable to him, confirm the fact that he was, as Barbeau states, the most substantial provider of silver for the Indian trade. His production to be supplied to the Northwest Company in the year 1799 alone totaled well over 7,000 items of ornamental silver. More will be said of Cruickshank anon.

This recitation of the great productiveness of Canadian smiths is not to suggest that the entirety of the silver used in

[4] **Barbeau, 1940b,** p. 128.
[5] Quoted by **Barbeau, 1940b,** p. 127.

the Indian trade was of Canadian manufacture. Numerous contemporary documents and records indicate that much trade silverwork was being produced even in pre-Revolutionary days in the larger cities of the British colonies on the Atlantic coast, Philadelphia in particular. An excellent documentation of silver production for the Indian trade in the latter city is given by Harold E. Gillingham, a well-known student of colonial crafts. In his study are presented data from manuscript collections in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, attesting "that Indian ornaments were produced in the Quaker City by the thousands . . ." According to Gillingham, earliest references which may relate to ornamental trade goods being supplied from the Atlantic colonies are found in late 17th century documents from among which he cites a **Board of Trade Journal** entry from 1689. This notes, with reference to New York, "That some Presents not Exceeding the value of One Hundred Pounds May be sent to the Five Indian Nations Bordering upon New York to Engage them to Adhere to the Crown of England."[6] From this time until perhaps the middle of the 18th century such ornaments and jewelry as were distributed to the Indians from Philadelphia and New York were largely ordered from merchants and smiths in London, Birmingham and other large English cities where metallurgy was an important industry. These items appear to have been medals for the most part, frequently of brass or copper, frequently engraved with the bust of the reigning monarch (George I and II during the period mentioned).

When large scale manufacture of trade silver began in Philadelphia, the names of Joseph Richardson the elder (1711-1784), Phillip Syng the younger (1703-1789) and William Hollingshead (active 1757 - 1774) became most prominent among the silversmiths. Richardson was a "peace-loving but enterprising Quaker" who produced a great number of medals similar stylistically to English prototypes, though generally of silver. His affiliation with the "Friendly Association for regaining and preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures" provided him with an outlet for his products. "The

6 **Mss.** in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, vol. VI, p. 256; quoted by **Gillingham, 1936,** p. 6.

Friendly Association," Gillingham states, ". . . was generous in the distribution of silver ornaments and full credit must be given to those philanthropic Quaker citizens for their endeavor to maintain peace with the red man. . ." [7] While the distributions of the "Association" included many trade items other than silver, the majority of its silver presents appear to have been medals, and of these a number struck by Richardson have been recovered from Indian graves and town sites in the Ohio valley and Wisconsin.

Following the middle of the 18th century a number of invoices sent to traders at posts in New York and western Pennsylvania, and especially at the central agency at Pittsburgh, reveal the shipment of thousands of items of silver, including crosses, buttons, both circular and heart-shaped brooches, hair-plates, arm and wrist bands, gorgets, rings, buckles, bobs, etc. The three principal smiths contributing to this vast production were, as mentioned above, Syng, Richardson and Hollingshead, probably the quantity of their productiveness falling in that order. Gillingham's study covers the period 1756-1760, during which time, as disclosed by manuscripts and invoices presented by him, the production of these three smiths aggregated over 8,000 pieces of Indian trade silver costing over 2,800 pounds.

The name of Edmond Milne, another colonial smith and silver importer, deserves brief acknowledgement since he too, as Louise Avery states, "was particularly busy with this kind of order, making many kinds of silver ornaments intended to serve as propitiatory gifts to the Indians." Avery offers in illustration an invoice sent (about 1761) to George Croughon, an Indian trader in western Pennsylvania, listing over 600 items, primarily brooches. [8]

Summarily, the business records of both traders and silverworkers abundantly reveal the great prominence of ornamental silver in Indian-white transactions from at least as early as the mid-18th century. Another source of information dis-

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[7] **Gillingham, 1936,** p. 9.

[8] **Avery, 1930,** p. 187. See also **Gillingham, 1934** and **1937.** Among other pieces of fine domestic ware, Milne is known as the maker of the silver used by Washington's officers during the Revolution.

closing silver's important role during the period may be enlisted by discussion of contemporary accounts. In these appear descriptions of the distribution and popularity of silver jewelry among the Indians.

Silver in Travelers' Accounts and Other Contemporary Sources

It seems clear that from as early as the days of the French regime, before they came into use largely as an exchange medium, metallic ornaments were frequently employed for what must be baldly termed bribery. This practice—coercing loyalty from the Indians through gifts—is probably rooted in the early French practice of presenting prominent chiefs with special medals, these having the happily combined functions of identifying their possessors as capable leaders, redoubtable warriors, loyal allies, and simultaneously betokening attached honor and esteem from the white man. Such chiefs were known as "Medal Chiefs," and the prestige accruing from their possession of such awards was probably a not unimportant factor in promoting the desire for trade jewelry among the general Indian populace. Even as late as the close of the 18th century one finds evidence of this custom of restricting special gifts to loyal and influential Indian leaders. From the chronicles of an English traveler, Isaac Weld, who journeyed through the Northwest in the 1790's, we have the statement that "no liquor, nor any silver ornaments, except to favorite chiefs in private, are ever given on the part of the government to the Indians, notwithstanding they are so fond of both. . ."[9]

An interesting and purportedly accurate anecdote from the year 1776 is presented by Helen Jackson in **A Century of Dishonor**, her well-known book dealing with American Indian policy in the 18th and 19th centuries. The incident concerns a journey to the Falls of St. Anthony by a Captain Carver (probably Jonathan Carver, the well-known traveler who earlier attempted to secure the alliance of the Sauk and Fox for the British) accompanied by a young Winnebago chief, and though perhaps in part apocryphal, it tends to substantiate the fact that metallic ornaments were to the Indians prized

9 **Weld, 1807, p. 194.**

possessions. The account, in the Captain's words, runs thus:

> "We could distinctly hear the noise of the water full fifty miles before we reached the Falls; and I was greatly pleased and surprised when I approached this astonishing work of nature; but I was not long at liberty to indulge these emotions, my attention being called off to the behavior of my companion. The prince had no sooner gained the point that overlooks this wonderful cascade than he began with an audible voice to address the Great Spirit, one of whose places of residence he imagined this to be. He told him that he had come a long way to pay his adorations to him, and now he would make him the best offerings in his power. He accordingly threw his pipe into the stream; then the roll that contained his tobacco; after these the bracelets that he wore on his arms and wrists; next an ornament that encircled his neck, composed of beads and wires, and at last the earrings from his ears; in short he presented to his god every part of his dress that was valuable." [10]

The journals of Northwestern travelers in this period provide rich references to Indian trappings and finery, but few offer such precise descriptions as does the following passage from Weld. Referring to the Indians at Malden (Windsor), Ontario in the late 18th century, Weld gives this valuable information to students of Indian trade jewelry:

> The shirts of the women are usually fastened "with a Broach round the neck. In full dress they also appear in these shirts, but then they are covered entirely over with silver broaches, about the size of a six-penny piece...
>
> "On their wrists the women wear silver bracelets when they can procure them; they also wear silver ear-rings; the latter are in general of a very small size; but it is not merely one pair which they wear, but several. To admit them, they bore a number of holes, in their ears, sometimes entirely round the edges. The men wear earrings likewise, but of a sort totally different from those worn by the women; they mostly consist of round flat thin pieces of silver, about the size of a dollar, perforated with holes in

[10] **Jackson, 1888,** pp. 239-40.

different patterns; others, however, equally large, are made in triangular form. Some of the tribes are very select in the choice of the pattern, and will not wear any but one sort of pendants. Instead of boring their ears, the men slit them along the outward edge from top to bottom, and as soon as the gash is healed hang heavy weights to them in order to stretch the rim thus separated as low down as possible. Some of them are so successful in this operation, that they contrive to draw the rims of the ears in form of a bow, down to their very shoulders, and their large earrings hang dangling on their breasts. To prevent the rim thus extended from breaking, they bind it with brass wire; however, I observed that there was not one in six that had his ears perfect; the least touch, indeed, is sufficient to break the skin, and it would be most wonderful if they were able to preserve it entire, engaged so often as they are in drunken quarrels, and so often liable to be entangled in thickets whilst pursuing their game.

"Some of the men wear pendants in their noses, but these are not so common as earrings. The chiefs and principal warriors wear breast plates, consisting of large pieces of silver, sea shells or the like. Silver gorgets, such as are usually worn by officers, please them extremely, and to favourite chiefs they are given out, amongst other presents, on the part of the government. Another sort of ornament is likewise worn by the men, consisting of a large silver clasp or bracelet, to which is attached a bunch of hair died (sic) of a scarlet colour, usually taken from the knee of the buffalo. This is worn on the narrow part of the arm above the elbow, and it is deemed very ornamental, and also a badge of honour, for no person wears it that has not distinguished himself in the field. Silver ornaments are universally preferred to those of any other metal." [11]

David A. Baerreis, by whom this passage from Weld is also quoted, makes the likely observation that such a description would probably apply quite well "for the Indians of the North-

[11] **Weld, 1807,** p. 235 passim.

west in general'' at this time. [12]

Though somewhat less valuable in their precision than Weld's, descriptions of native habiliment set down by Anna Jameson, a traveler from Toronto through the northern Great Lakes area, provide useful details from a later period. Referring to the accouterment of Indians she encountered at Mackinac about 1838 she writes:

> ''The dress of the men was very various—the cotton shirt, blue or scarlet leggings, and deer-skin moccasins and blanket coat, were most general; but many had no shirt nor vest, merely the cloth leggings, and a blanket thrown round them as drapery; the faces of several being grotesquely painted. The dress of the women was more uniform, —a cotton shirt, and cotton leggings and moccasins, and a dark blue blanket. Necklaces, silver armlets, silver earrings, and circular plates of silver fastened on the breast, were the usual ornaments of both sexes. . . .
>
> ''There were also three children; the eldest had on a cotton shirt, the breast of which was covered with silver ornaments. . . .
>
> ''One of these exquisites, whom I called Beau Brummel, was not indeed indebted to a tailor, seeing he had neither a coat nor anything else that gentlemen are accustomed to wear; but then his face was most artistically painted, the upper half of it being vermillion. His leggings of scarlet cloth were embroidered down the sides, and decorated with tufts of hair. The band, or garter, which confines the leggings, is always an especial bit of finery; and his were gorgeous, all embroidered with gay beads, and strings and tassels of the liveliest colours hanging down to his ankle. His moccasins (sic) were also beautifully worked with porcupine quills; he had armlets and bracelets of silver; and round his head a silver band stuffed with tufts of moosehair died blue and red; and, conspicuous above all, the eagle feather in his hair, showing he was a warrior, and had taken a scalp—i. e., killed his man. . .
>
> ''I remember another young man, who had a common black beaver hat all round which, in several silver bands,

[12] **Baerreis, 1950,** p. 77.

he had stuck a profusion of feathers, and long tufts of dyed hair, so that it formed a most gorgeous helmet....

"The men seemed to engross the finery; none of the women that I saw were painted. Their blankets were mostly dark blue; some of them had strings or beads round their necks, and silver armlets. . ." [13]

Thus by the 1830's, and certainly much before in some areas, silver had attained the secularity implied by Jameson, although the same author notes, in a passage describing the distribution of gifts by the British at Manitoulin Island in 1838, that "there was . . . a distribution of extra presents, medals, silver gorgets, and armlets, to some of the chiefs and relatives of the chiefs whose conduct was particularly approved, or whom it was thought expedient to gratify." [14]

The several historical documentations treated in this chapter should be sufficient to reveal the great demand for silver jewelry involved in the dealings with the Indians. After the mid-18th century the silversmithing centers of both the St. Lawrence valley and the Atlantic coast were occupied with the sizeable orders arriving from Great Lakes traders, and the writings of travelers though the region corroborate an increasing popularity of these products among the natives. It next becomes of value to introduce the smiths themselves, noting the ways in which their manufactures may be identified and their working periods defined.

CHAPTER III

THE MAKERS OF TRADE SILVER AND THEIR MARKS

Although traders' invoices, records, company inventories and the like occasionally permit identification of the makers of trade silver, this is not always the case, and with only such sources available much information valuable for historic reconstruction would be lost. The misfortune is greatly mitigated, however, by the frequency with which trade silver objects may be ascribed to particular manufacturers by virtue of

[13] **Jameson, 1852,** p. 174 passim.
[14] **ibid.,** p. 282.

the names, initials, or unique marks borne upon the objects. Less frequently these marks may indicate the places and dates of manufacture.

London Hallmarks

Probably the best known of these systems of identification is that of the Hallmarks of London which date back to A. D. 1327 when, in the reign of Edward III, the Goldsmith's Guild of London was incorporated under the prolix title, "The Warden's and Commonalty of the Mystery of Goldsmith of the City of London." A primary purpose in the organization of this body was to insure that "no Goldsmith of England nor nowhere else within the realme work no manner of vessel nor any other thing of Gold or Silver, but if it be of the verry alloy according to the Standard quality of England, called Sterling Money or better." [1] To further this purpose, London pieces were stamped with the "Lyperde's Head" beginning in 1300, with the maker's mark from 1363, and with the annual date letter from 1478 onward. The well-known "lion passant" makes its appearance upon English ware beginning in 1544, after which the four marks appear together until joined by the sovereign's head in 1784—continuing thus until 1916.

An example of the precise identification which the London hallmark series allows is furnished by reference to 6-F and 1-O, marks appearing upon the reverse side of the silver gorget pictured in 6-D. The lion passant and leopard's head with crown identify the piece as London silver, and its general date as earlier than 1816 (after which the leopard wears no crown). The lower case letter "c" is in this instance the date letter, and its particular conformation places it in a unique series among repeating alphabetic cycles, each of which is given a different style (i. e., various forms of capital and lower case Roman letters, script, etc.). The interval during which date letters of this style were employed was 1776-1795, of which "c" designates the third year, or 1778. Compilations of the personal marks of London goldsmiths and silversmiths are abundantly available and brief research would here enable identification of "HB" (1-O), the maker of the gorget, as

[1] See **White, 1917.**

Hester Bateman, best-known member of a prominent silversmithing family in the George III era.

Thus hallmarks and date letters present upon English silverwork imported for the Indian trade greatly faciliate exact chronological determinations [2]—a situation quite contrary to that encountered in dealing with much of the domestic silverware of the New World colonies and most of the silver of the Indian trade.

Touch Marks of New World Smiths

Identification of American colonial silver is made difficult by the frugality of the makers in applying stamps and inscriptions, which they characteristically confined to but one or two marks, these frequently being initials, frequently of rather amorphous sorts. Such a characterization applies equally well to the products of most Canadian silversmiths producing jewelry and ornaments for the native trade.

This being the situation, it is not difficult to understand why early archaeologists, in attempting to ascertain the significance of excavated silverwork, occasionally went so far astray in their conjectures. Charles C. Jones, for example, is frequently chided for his assessment of the origin of two double-barred silver crosses recovered from a burial mound in Murray County, Georgia, in 1832. Jones was inclined to the opinion "that they may be properly referred to the (1540) expedition of Hernando de Soto" (which conclusion, however, does not seem unwarranted in view of the publication date).[3] David Boyle, in an article entitled "Post European Relics," attributes another such cross, recovered from the district of Ontario once occupied by the Huron, to the period when the

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[2] French hallmarks date from the 17th century and are generally finely-stamped, lace-like, complicated representations of flowers, stylized letters, etc. No silver bearing such marks has been noted in the New World Indian trade, although French marks appear upon other metallic trade materials (see Chapter IV). German marks appear in some German villages and cities as early as the 15th century. In nature they are generally more simple than the smiths' marks of either France or England and are perhaps best likened to the simpler American and Canadian touch marks. No silver of German origin seems to have entered the Indian trade however.

[3] **Jones, 1883.**

French regime in the New World was under the enterprising aegis of Cardinal Richelieu. [4] In such a belief, it is commonly noted, [5] the prevalence of the marks "RC" and "CA" might encourage association of these initials with "Richelieu, Cardinal" or "Cardinal Archbishop."

Since the turn of the present century such notions have been dispelled of course, and researches on the parts of historians, anthropologists and others have notably extended knowledge relating to the sources of silver trade materials, the differentiation of regional and temporal types, and the identification of particular smiths. Sufficient data are certainly available to allow the categorical assertions that Jones' artifacts, far from having been brought to Georgia by de Soto, are rather typical of the silver crosses produced in Montreal during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and that "RC" and "CA" are in fact the initials of two of the better known Montreal smiths of the period. Nevertheless, though considerable advances have been made, the greatness of avenues yet unexplored will be indicated by a presentation of the meagre information regarding smiths thus far identified: the following comments summarize available knowledge pertaining to the silversmiths whose products were most important in the silver trade with the Indians.

Canadian Silversmiths:

ROBERT CRUICKSHANK

The touch mark (i. e., maker's mark) of this Montreal smith is the script letters "RC" with a small pellet between, the whole enclosed in a curvilinear cartouche (1-A and 6-C). The mark occasionally varies in size, and is frequently accompanied by the name "MONTREAL" stamped in Roman capitals. Cruickshank was among the most prolific producers for the

4 **Boyle, 1891.** Boyle's notorious statement: "In all probability these ornaments were sent out to Canada during his (i. e., Richelieu's) regime, and, receiving the blessing of the priest among the Hurons, would have served the double purpose of being ornamental and of being used in devotion." (p. 64) (Richelieu's dates: 1585-1642.)

5 See for example **Barbeau, 1940a.**

Indian trade, and the silver bearing his touch mark is generally of superior quality (e. g., 2-A).[6]

Having learned his trade in London,[7] Cruickshank traveled to the New World and established a shop at Boston about 1768, references to his products dating as early as 1774. With the coming of Revolutionary days, Cruickshank's Tory sentiments led him to emigrate to Montreal where contemporary documents (1781) list him as a merchant. For the years following—until 1784—he was engaged in a partnership with Charles Arnoldi (infra). During the late 1780's Cruickshank appears to have maintained a large workshop with many apprentices, his production for this period being mostly confined to church silver and domestic ware, however. In the capacity of merchant, nevertheless, he apparently filled many orders destined for the Northwestern trading posts. It was from about 1790 until his death in 1809 that Cruickshank established himself as the most substantial producer of Indian trade silver, for in this period the records of most of the major Canadian fur companies operating in the Northwest indicate numerous purchases of both silver and general merchandise from his establishment.[8]

CHARLES ARNOLDI

The touch mark "CA" (1-B) in script capitals separated by a pellet identifies this Montreal smith and partner of Robert Cruickshank during the several years preceding 1784. Arnoldi's mark is similar in size and style to the latter's, being also enclosed in a curvilinear cartouche. Work by this smith

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6 Since the concern of the present chapter is primarily the summary identification of the prominent Indian trade silversmiths, other pieces by Cruickshank examined by the writer in the several museum collections will be discussed later. However, illustrations of, and comments concerning, various Cruickshank products are available in **Barbeau, 1940a**, and **1942**, and in **Quimby, 1938.**

7 Robert Cruickshank of Montreal is not to be confused with another smith of the same name, active in London about 1776 and after.

8 Biographical data on Cruickshank have been gathered by George I. Quimby, Jr., and are available in **Quimby, 1937.** Citations from various trade records involving orders from Cruickshank are available in **Barbeau, 1940b.**

is mentioned in Montreal records for the years 1784, 1788 and 1810, and in his later years he became associated with a smith named Comens, according to Dr. Quimby. His products were probably distributed through many of the same channels as Cruickshank's, though the quantity of his output must have been considerably less. A confirming instance: of 119 representative items of silver jewelry recovered from Michigan sites and selected for study by Quimby, eight exhibit Arnoldi's touch mark, while thirty-six can be assigned to Cruickshank. [9]

PIERRE HUGUET

1-D illustrates a touch mark concerning which there has been some controversy. Dr. Quimby stated in 1937 that "there is some possibility that the touch mark consisting of the Roman capitals 'P.H.' in an oblong cartouche is that of Henri Polonceau, a silversmith of Laprairie, who entered business in Montreal in 1806. However, the reversal of the initials in the touch mark is entirely without precedent." [10] In view of the number of objects bearing this touch mark, however, and the considerable area over which they have been recovered, [11] it is likely that "PH" is more properly referable to the better known silversmith, Pierre Huguet, surnamed Latour or La Tour (i. e., Pierre Huguet dit Latour) who worked in Montreal 1780-1816, or thereabouts. In partial confirmation of this, Gillingham has mentioned a large cross bearing the mark "'PH' in an oblong cartouche" accompanied by the familiar "MONTREAL," and a similar piece is discussed in a 1937 issue of the Wisconsin Archeologist. [12]

The production of this smith was rather considerable, and in contemporary documents his name is occasionally mentioned with Cruickshank's, the connotations generally suggesting that they were comparable craftsmen. Professor Ram-

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9 See **Quimby, 1937,** in which are presented the few important details concerning Arnoldi which are known at present. Illustrations of Arnoldi's work are contained in **Barbeau, 1942.**

10 **Quimby, 1937,** p. 22

11 Other finds are enumerated in **Barbeau, 1940a.**

12 **Gillingham, 1934; Wisconsin Archeologist, 1937.** Dr. Quimby is now in agreement with the latter view (personal communication, 1952).

say Traquair, analyzing trade records in Montreal's McCord Museum, states that Latour was paid 3,000 pounds for trade silver produced in the interval 1797-1801, a large share of which was ordered by Jacob Astor and Company.[13]

JONES (or JONAS) SCHINDLER

Barbeau devotes considerable space to discussion of Schindler, but in neither his articles nor Quimby's, principal summations of identified touch marks, is there mention of the mark used by this silversmith. There is no reason to believe, however, that the touch mark illustrated in 1-C is that of Schindler. The same touch mark appears upon two silver bracelets in the collections of the Neville Public Museum, Green Bay, Wisconsin, where they have been labeled thus: "The meaning of (the mark 'JS') is not definitely known. However, they may be the initials of one Jonas Schindler at Quebec about 1767-95." [14] The touch mark in 1-C, which is from a silver hair band from the Oshkosh Public Museum (9-B, left), is identical to that appearing upon the bracelets mentioned, each exhibiting a Roman capital "J" with foreshortened lower serif in conjunction with semi-script "S." Dr. Quimby advises the writer that in his opinion the mark illustrated is Schindler's.

Schindler has been mentioned previously as a muff-maker (manchonnier) resident in Quebec, where at least as early as 1767 he was also known for the manufacture of church silver. That his products were well made and desired by the traders of the Northwest has been suggested by the 1799 correspondence from Duperon Baby at Detroit in which he specifically requests that the trade silver to be sent to him from Quebec be made by Schindler.[15] Little more is known of this smith, however, and the extent of his work does not seem to rival that of such men as Cruickshank. Schindler's widow was also a competent silversmith whose name is included in a num-

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[13] **Traquair, 1938.**
[14] Notes on these specimens were kindly furnished by writer by Mr. Robert L. Hall.
[15] See **Barbeau, 1942,** and Supra, Chapter II.

ber of business records from Quebec in the years 1797-1802. [16]

JONATHAN TYLER

The touch mark "JT," "very small in oblong rectangle," according to Barbeau, appears upon two large silver brooches or breast-plates and a large arm band purchased from an Algonquin of Maniwaki, Quebec, by Dr. Edward Sapir early in the present century. [17] This mark Professor Traquair ascribes to Jonathan Tyler, silversmith of Montreal in the early 19th century, and one-time partner of a smith named Sam Flint (until 1817). [18] Quimby has mentioned a brooch from Emmet County, Michigan, which bears the mark " 'JT' in an oblong cartouche," but suggests no identification. [19]

FRANQOIS RANVOYZE

"FR" in relief, but without enclosing cartouche, appears upon a two-inch brooch enhanced with engraved leaves and acorns collected in Maine, 1914. This specimen is described by Barbeau, who identifies the maker as Franqois Ranvoyze, a Quebec silversmith, 1739-1820. [20]

SALOMON MARION

The touch mark "SM" in cartouche is reported by Barbeau from a large hat-band of the same provenience as the items attributed to Jonathan Tyler. This mark is identified as that of Salomon Marion, Montreal silvermith c. 1818-25. [21]

FRANQOIS DELAGRAVE

Upon one end of a long, narrow silver hat-band, collected by Dr. Sapir at Cacouna, Quebec in 1912, appear the initials "FD" in cartouche, while at the other end of the same object is the mark "JP." Barbeau attributes the first mentioned initials to Franqois Delagrave, listed as a resident of that city

16 **Barbeau, 1940b,** citing the **Archives** of the Seminary in Quebec, states that "she died insolvent" (apparently in Quebec), while the **Wisconsin Historical Collections** say that she continued to make silver and eventually settled in Green Bay.
17 **Barbeau, 1940b.**
18 **Traquair, 1938.**
19 **Quimby, 1937.**
20 **Barbeau, 1942** (illustration) and **1940b.**
21 **Barbeau, 1940b.**

in the Quebec Directory of 1826. The latter marks remain unidentified. [22]

It is noteworthy in this connection that combined touch marks also appear upon a specimen described by Quimby: "Other unknown marks are 'P.J.D.' in an oblong cartouche with serrated edges (and) the same letters in an oblong cartouche with serrated edges and accompanied by the stamped letters 'BP' in a square cartouche... The initials 'BP'... might be the mark of Benjamin Price of Philadelphia, although it is certainly incongruous to find them on the same ornament with another touch mark." [23] The touch mark illustrated in 1-H (which occurs on the gorget in 3-A), presumably "BP," may belong to the same silversmith. [24]

JOHN OAKS

Two ornaments in the collections studied by Dr. Quimby bear the Roman capitals "JO" enclosed in a square cartouche. This mark Professor Traquair attributes to John Oaks of Montreal, sometime associate of Charles Arnoldi. [25]

JOHN KINZIE

Kinzie, a Montreal-trained silversmith who worked in Michigan in the early 19th century, has been identified with the mark "JK." The letters are in script and enclosed in an oblong cartouche. The mark is reported by Quimby as present upon a double-barred cross from Emmet County, Michigan. [26]

PETER ARNOLDI

A large Roman cross of silver, recovered at Green Bay, bears the name "MONTREAL" and, the initials "PA," in two places, establishing this mark's Canadian origin. [27] Traquair

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22 **Barbeau, 1940b.**
23 **Quimby, 1937,** p. 23.
24 Dr. Quimby advises the writer that 1-H is probably the same mark described by him, while Dr. Barbeau has suggested consideration of similar Montreal marks.
25 **Traquair, 1938.**
26 **Quimby, 1937.**
27 **Brown, 1910.**

finds the same mark on items in the McCord Museum at Montrial and identifies it with Peter Arnoldi. [28]

PETER BOHLE

The touch mark "PB" occurring upon a chain in the McCord Museum has been assigned to this smith by Traquair. [29]

"JH"

This touch mark, the script letters "JH" in a curvilinear cartouche, remains unidentified save that it occurs in conjunction with "MONTREAL" upon a harp-shaped brooch examined by Quimby, and hence is unquestionably Canadian. [30]

"IS"

Roman capitals "IS" in a square cartouche occur on thirteen of Quimby's specimens, which high proportion suggests Canadian origin inasmuch as the collections in general prove to such a large extent to be Canadian products. Moreover, evidence of the work of this smith has been found in Canada, and there are items of 19th century cutlery in the Bishop's Palace at Quebec which bear this mark. [31]

"MONTREAL"

The name of the city of Montreal, certainly the most productive of the Canadian silver centers, frequenty appears upon trade items. In such instances it may appear with or without additional touch marks. The name is stamped in Roman capitals of varying size, characteristic appearance being best illustrated in 4-D, top, upon which bracelet the initials of Róbert Cruickshank are also present. 2-K, the mark from the reverse side of a silver hair-plate (2-J), shows a variation stamped in a somewhat larger cartouche and unaccompanied by other marks. 1-M, showing only the letters "NTREA," is a further example of the mode of appearance of this mark.

Though no statistics exist concerning the relative frequency with which this mark appears on trade silver, a suggestion

28 **Traquair, 1938.**
29 **Traquair, 1938.**
30 **Quimby, 1937.**
31 **Quimby, 1937.**

of its prevalence is afforded by reference to the Michigan collections studied by Dr. Quimby. These materials, as elsewhere noted, aggregate 119 trade silver ornaments, primarily obtained from Indian village sites and cemeteries. Of that number, 62 are unequivocally of Montreal manufacture, dating from the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and of these, twelve bear the unaccompanied mark "MONTREAL," while at least one other is inscribed with that city's name and a maker's initials. [32]

Philadelphia Silversmiths:

The first important Philadelphia smiths were Cesar Ghiselin and Johannis Nys, early 18th century silver workers who are best known to collectors of rarer colonial silver. After the first quarter of that century come the names of Phillip Syng and the elder Francis Richardson, founders of the two noteworthy dynasties of Philadelphia silver craftsmen. Not until past the middle 18th century, however, do the several best-known smiths of Philadelphia begin extensive production for the Indian trade, and by this time the group is "second in number to none in other towns, and . . . in no way inferior in skill." [33]

The work of the first three of the following individuals has been discussed above. Though working during the early days of trade silver production, the extensiveness of their output is attested both by the "number of (their) silver pieces recovered from former Indian territories," [34] and the accounts of the Indian Commissioner for the period. The marks of these smiths are as follows.

JOSEPH RICHARDSON (the elder)

Several styles of "JR" or "IR" in oblong or oval cartouches identify Joseph Richardson, 1711-1784, a members of the famous Philadelphia smithing family. [35]

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[32] **Quimby, 1937.** "PH" is the additional mark referred to. Proportions of Montreal and Canadian items among the collections examined by the writer will be noted later.

[33] **Currier, 1938,** p. 164.

[34] **Barbeau, 1942,** p. 10.

PHILLIP SYNG, Jr.

"PS" in Roman capitals enclosed in a square cartouche with corners cut, or occasionally in a shaped cartouche accompanied by a star or leaf, are the touch marks of Syng. [36]

WILLIAM HOLLINGSHEAD

"WH" in shaped cartouches of several types is the mark presumed to identify this silversmith. [37]

JOHN DUPUY

The capitals "JD" in an oblong cartouche, encountered upon a double-barred cross in Quimby's analysis of Michigan trade material, are attributed by him to John Dupuy of Philadelphia, active from 1769 to 1803. This may be the same cross mentioned in a **Chicago Evening Post** article of October 8, 1898. Under the subtitle, "Hundreds of Dead and Gone Ottawas Routed From Their Long Sleep and Denuded of Ornaments," the piece describes a cross stamped " 'JD,' the initials, most likely, of the maker at Montreal."

John David, Jr., another Philadelphia silversmith, used a similar mark but enclosed the initials in an oval cartouche. [38]

DANIEL VAN VOORHIES

A plain rectangle enclosing the letters "DV" labels the work of Daniel Van Voorhies, a silversmith of Philadelphia, 1769--1782, afterwards reported in New York City in 1825. Among his trade products is a Washington medal, dated 1789, recovered in Alabama and commented upon by Gillingram in his work on Philadelphia smiths.

JOHN LEACOCK

Another Quaker City silversmith, John Leacock, is listed by Gillingham as contributing ornaments to the Indian trade in the middle 1700's. "JL" is Leacock's typical mark, though the entire name is supposed to have appeared occasionally.

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35 See **Gillingham, 1936,** and **Currier, 1938,** p. 119.
36 **See Gillingham, 1936,** p. 26, and **Currier, 1938,** p. 136.
37 See **Gillingham, 1936,** p. 26, and **Currier, 1938,** p. 73.
38 See **Quimby, 1937,** p. 23.

Unidentified Marks:

Bureau of American Ethnology explorations near Prairie du Chien in the early part of the present century yielded a number of metallic artifacts including copper bracelets, a silver locket and ten silver bracelets. Of the latter, one was stamped "MONTREAL," and another "AB." [39]

" A S "

"AS," Roman capitals in an oblong cartouche, occur on two silver ornaments from Lenawee County, Michigan. In 1907, Charles E. Brown reported the same mark as occurring upon a double-barred cross from an Indian burial mound at Prairie du Chien. [40]

" C F "

The touch mark "CF" occurs upon items in the McCord Museum at Montreal, according to Professor Traquair. [41]

" C G "

Contained in a square cartouche, the initials "CG" appear upon a silver cross recovered in Kent County, Michigan. [42]

" G W "

The letters "GW," in an intricate cartouche which forms part of the curvilinear design radiating from the touch mark, are mentioned by Barbeau as appearing upon an oblong silver brooch collected by him in 1912 from a Wyandot woman on the Detroit River. "Presumably, on account of its crude amateurish form and the use of the touch mark as a decoration, it was made by a native silversmith," Barbeau asserts. [43]

" H "

Silver trade objects in the McCord Museum bear the letter "H" Traquair reports in his paper on Montreal trade silver.

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39 **Brown, 1910.**
40 See **Quimby, 1937** and **Brown, 1910.**
41 See **Traquair, 1938.**
42 See **Quimby, 1937.**
43 **Barbeau, 1940b,** p. 138.

"HB"

Mr. J. P. Schumacher of Green Bay, Wisconsin, was reported to have in his collection a silver bracelet 1½" in width, bearing at one end a small engraved figure of an animal, and at the other end the touch mark "HB."[44]

"IB"

In a review of theretofore unpublished trade articles, George A. Flaskerd mentioned, in 1940, a silver cross which, to quote his description, "has hall mark IB or JB. Detroit. Said to be second largest silver cross ever found. Roulette ornamentation. Found Fort Snelling, Hennepin County 1889."[45]

"SH"

An oblong cartouche enclosing the Roman capitals "SH" has been found upon a silver gorget from Emmet County, Michigan.[46]

"WC"

"WC" (or "JM") in script letters in an oblong cartouche appears on one brooch from Emmet County, Michigan. A touch mark similarly described by David A. Baerreis appears upon a brooch found on the Menominee River near Marinette, Wisconsin.[47]

"XIII"

These characters, most probably Roman numerals, appear enclosed in oblong cartouches upon three objects in the Michigan materials studies by Quimby.[48]

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[44] See **Brown, 1918.**

[45] **Flaskerd, 1940a,** p. 139. This cross is illustrated and discussed in the **Wisconsin Archeologist,** 1938.

[46] See **Quimby, 1937.**

[47] See **Quimby, 1937,** and **Baerreis, 1950.** The brooch last-mentioned is illustrated in Baerreis' comprehensive paper. Quimby has mentioned the occurrence of the touch mark "'GH' over 'WC' in a square cartouche" upon two silver hair-plates from an Indian burial in Michigan, and has identified the combined mark as belonging to the firm of George Heming and William Chawner of London. Quimby gives 1781-82 as the date of manufacture, apparently on the basis of hallmarks. See **Quimby, 1938,** p. 67.

[48] See **Quimby, 1937.**

Marks Not Previously Reported:

The following, insofar as the writer is able to discover, are marks which have not to date been described or illustrated in published sources. They occur upon various trade objects from the several collections to be discussed hereinafter.

"S"

1-E illustrates this mark, an "S" enclosed in an irregularly rectangular cartouche. The silver cross upon which it appears (2-B) is from the Putnam Collection of the Davenport Public Museum, and is one of a number of trade items recovered from Emmet County, Michigan. Although a great number of silver objects in this collection can be proven of Canadian origin, the presence of several American pieces makes it impossible to assert unequivocally either origin for this mark. In style, proportion and general character this letter is notably similar to the "S" of Jonas Schindler's mark (1-C), and Dr. Quimby has advised the writer that in his opinion both marks may belong to Schindler. Dr. Barbeau, while admitting the latter possibility, suggests further consideration of Nathan Starns of Montreal and perhaps other 18th century smiths of that city. A mark of this unique type was used, additionally, by C. (Colin V. G.?) Forbes, a silversmith of New York City, 1808-1825, according to city directories of that date.

"J M"

The smith whose touch mark is shown in 1-F is not definitely identified. Although the script-style letters are to a degree similar to those identifying Joseph Moulton II, a silversmith of Newburyport, Massachusetts, working around 1757, the inadequate likeness of the initials and cartouche, as well as the early date assigned to Moulton's silver, does not argue an entirely reliable connection. Dr. Barbeau has informed the writer that he is inclined to attribute this mark to Joseph Maillon of Quebec. The specimen is from the Putnam Collection.

"W"

1-G illustrates a touch mark—seemingly "W," possibly

"M"—present on a silver cross (2-C) from the Putnam Collection. Though Dr. Quimby mentions a " 'W' in an oblong cartouche" occurring upon a silver ornament recovered from the same locality (viz., Emmet County, Michigan) as this specimen, further comparison of the two marks would be necessary for their assignment to the same smith. Additionally, the particular silverworker identifying himself by this mark is unknown—and is likely to remain so for some time since such great numbers of smiths employed but a single, conventional Roman "W" or "M" upon their wares. The writer is extremely grateful, however, to Dr. Quimby and Dr. Barbeau who suggested, respectively, that Hugh Wishort, a New York smith of the late 1700's, and John Wood, a Montreal worker of the middle 19th century, merit further investigation in attempts at identifying the owner of this mark.

"A & JS" and "NEW YORK"

The marks illustrated in 1-J and 1-K occur upon the reverse sides of circular gorgets (such as 3-B) from the Putnam Collection in conjunction with the finely engraved animal forms shown in 3-C and 3-D. Although "A&JS" cannot at present be positively identified, a similar cartouche enclosing the same Roman capital letters was used by James Simmons, a goldsmith associated with Abraham Simmons, an engraver, who are listed in the New York Directory as producers of silver from 1805 to 1813. Their use of "NEW YORK" is unknown however.

" T "

The silversmith responsible for the mark illustrated in 1-I is not definitely known. The mark appears upon three silver bracelets in the Putnam Collection, two of which are pictured in 2-I. While Jonathan Tyler of Montreal is a likely candidate for ownership of this mark, Dr. Barbeau has also proposed Joseph Tison of the same city. [49]

" B P "

As already noted, the poorly stamped touch mark shown in

[49] Personal communication, 1952.

1-H, presumably "BP," may belong to the smith of those initials discussed by Quimby. [50] The mark appears upon a crescentic gorget of silver from the Putnam Collection (3-A).

"* * "

The asterisk-like marks upon the face of the cross pictured in 2-F may be identification marks of sorts. No other marks are present, however, and the use of unaccompanied marks of this type for identification is unknown. The cross, a Wisconsin trade item, is currently exhibited at the Milwaukee Public Museum.

"II" (?)

The illegible touch mark to be seen in 1-N appears upon an artifact whose function is likewise in doubt. The object was recovered from the Butte des Morts site (infra) and is now in the collections of the Oshkosh Public Museum. [51] Identification of the items with which this object was associated at the site would perhaps argue for its Canadian origin.

It has been shown that of the several dozen marks listed above but a small proportion can be attributed with certainty to particular smiths, and of those in the latter category a still smaller number have been fitted amply into the continuum of Indian trade events. And the end is not yet, for it is probably the greater proportion of trade silver which lacks inscription of any sort.

It may then appear ambitious to say that touch marks constitute a great aid in the chronological placement of trade silver ornaments, but this is to overlook several facts. It is important to note that, generally speaking, the smiths responsible for the greatest numbers of silver trade objects have been identified with the greatest certainty, and that, contrarywise, only those smiths a small number of whose products have been recovered remain totally unknown. Additionally, thanks to the wide areal distribution but rather narrow

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[50] See further remarks under Franqois Delagrave, supra.
[51] See **Overton, 1931,** p. 95.

temporal range of such well-known marks as "RC," quite accurate chronological conjectures and cross-datings are sometimes possible in the case of associated pieces or marks. Furthermore, the mark "MONTREAL" suggests in general the terminal 18th century period, and in time it is to be presumed that other such marks will become similarly circumscribed. Moreover, the period during which trade ornaments were principally of silver is generally confined between the middle 18th century, before which Indian medals and trade jewelry were fashioned primarily in base metals, and the 1820's, after which cheaper German silver came into extensive use. Within this "silver epoch" the popularity of particular types of ornaments during particular periods can also be established to some degree, both by archaeological data and historical documents. This knowledge can be combined with data frequently available from particular archaeological sites and supplemented with information derived from examination of associated trade pipes, iron axes, firearms and the like, chronological sequences of which have been well established in many cases.

Altogether then, though identification of any single silver artifact may be difficult, the knowledge of Indian trade silversmiths and their marks thus far accumulated is potentially a tool of great value to those concerned with reconstructing the life and times of this period in the Great Lakes region. Inasmuch as a more detailed treatment of the places of particular types of trade silver in time and space will further elucidate this value, it is now desirable to turn attention to trade silver's various forms and the significance thereof.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRINCIPAL TYPES OF TRADE SILVER ORNAMENTS AND THEIR REGIONAL AND TEMPORAL VARIATION

One department of historical reconstruction to which study of trade silver can contribute most valuably is chronology. The utility of touch marks in pursuit of this knowledge already has been given exposition and the definition of ornament types and styles in time and space now becomes relevant. It is clear that if outstanding regional and temporal differences exist in the types of jewelry used in Indian-white commerce, such differences, clearly set forth, would be of conspicuous value in archaeological dating and ethno-historical reconstruction in general. If broad categories of trade ornaments could be demarked as being characteristically French versus English, English versus American, pre- versus post-Revolutionary, and so on, the value of such distinctions is obvious.

The "Early" and "Late" Periods

Discussion of this topic can be initiated profitably by reference to an article entitled "European Trade Articles As Chronological Indicators For the Archaeology of the Historic Period in Michigan," by George I. Quimby, Jr. Since the location of his area of study may permit generalization of his findings to the upper Mississippi valley as a whole, Quimby's paper is more valuable to the present purpose.

The author observes that the historic era in Michigan may be divided into two periods, roughly 1700-1760 and 1760-1825, each being characterized by the influx of different types of European trade goods. Among the trade articles of the former period he groups the following: Jesuit rings, brass or bronze, with shaped faces bearing various inscribed letters, saints' figures, crosses, fleur-de-lis, hearts and the like; Jesuit medals, oval or octagonal and of bronze, bearing various Latin and French inscriptions, symbols and portraits of saints; Jesuit crosses and crucifixes, of other metals than silver, stamped with religious figures and symbols; brass rings set

with colored glass; bracelets of heavy brass wire; copper and brass projectile points; iron knives probably of French manufacture; lead "seals" (blanket clasps) stamped with fleur-de-lis, dates (which on the French seals range 1734-1746), the names of French makers and presumable places of manufacture (Mazamet, Lille, Carcassone)—plus two English examples of this same item (stamped London and Halifax). As these items are seemingly confined to the period antedating 1760, the absence of silver objects among them is highly significant. Passing on to the 1760-1825 interval, Quimby enumerates as criteria various types of enamel, glassware and china and in conjunction with these he devotes a section to ornamental silver. After mentioning its various forms the author asserts: "The great majority of these silver ornaments, identified by means of their touch marks, were made by Montreal silversmiths between 1770 and 1825. . . . That they belong to the late period is manifested not only by identification of the makers but by documentary evidence and by the absence of silver ornaments from early-period sites in other areas as well as Michigan. . . . Trade silver ornaments seem to be the best single criterion for the late period in Michigan," he concludes. [1]

To be sure, a number of metal trade goods occur throughout the combined periods defined by Quimby; flintlock arms, iron implements, copper, pewter and brass vessels, and brass bells and bracelets would be among these. But the important point established is that, for Michigan at least, the period of greatest incidence of trade silver ornaments by no means coincides with that of trade ornaments of baser metals. Based upon Quimby's findings, a generalization to the effect that trade ornaments of silver and trade ornaments of inferior metals are pre-eminent during quite well-defined and mutually exclusive periods, with regional variations in time, could be abundantly substantiated for the general area in which the Great Lakes Indian trade flourished.

To pursue the matter briefly, the New York Cayuga sites of late 17th and early 18th century dates, reported upon by Alan-

[1] **Quimby, 1939, p. 29.**

son Skinner, uphold the suggested dichotomy by falling altogether within the "early period," much Jesuit metal paraphernalia being found, none, however, being of silver.[2] This is, in general, corrobroant of statements such as Harrington's, who says that the appearance of silver ornaments among the Iroquois "displaced in part those of copper and brass, which, although quite different in character, had been popular among the people,"[3] or of Parker, who explains that "Previous to 1700 the metallic ornaments of European origin of the Iroquois had been principally of pewter, iron, brass and sometimes copper. At the beginning of the 18th century silver ornaments were introduced and by the time of the French and Indian War they had become quite common."[4] In short, though the Iroquois silver dates from 17th century importations by the Dutch and French, the typical silver medals, gorgets, bands, earrings and so on, present in late colonial days, were most lavishly used during the later 18th century. Silver's appearance soon relegated to obsolescence ornaments of polished stone, bone and shell, though brooches, rings, bracelets, bands and earrings of brass, bronze and copper persisted into the mid-18th century or later.

Another "early-period" site, insofar as trade silver, or rather the absence thereof, is concerned, is that of Ste. Marie I, the Jesuit mission station in the Huron country of the 1640's (i. e., southwestern Ontario). Kenneth Kidd reports from this site the finding of conical bangles of sheet-brass, zoomorphic brass cut-outs, a copper ring, and even ear bobs of iron, while of silver but three articles were discovered, two of these palpably not trade goods and the third not certainly silver.[5]

A number of other sites which to varying degrees conform to the "early-period" formula are of course known from the general Great Lakes and upper Mississippi valley regions,[6]

2 **Skinner, 1921c.**

3 **Harrington, 1908a,** p. 353. Harrington would say, however, that this displacement occurred about "the beginning of the 18th century," which now seems a bit too early, even for New York.

4 **Parker, 1910,** p. 349. Parker's date for the introduction of silver is considerably earlier than the period of its secularity.

5 **Kidd, 1949.**

6 Dr. Quimby suggests another: Donald A. Cadzow's Pennsylvania materials (**Cadzow, 1936**).

and the point having been established by the foregoing representative examples, an approach from the opposite direction —exemplification of the "late-period"—is instructive. From the 1930 excavation of Indian burials at the Hill of the Dead—Butte des Morts—in Winnebago County, Wisconsin, comes a typical example. At this site grave goods other than metallic ornaments were not abundant, but the latter were extremely revealing. Dozens of silver brooches, bobs, bands and the like displayed numerous "RC's," "CA's," and "MONTREAL's," and with these not a single characteristically "early-period" object appeared, unless it be a "necklace" of "fifteen hammered copper cones." [7]

Similar sites are legion, [8] and one additional example will suffice. In a paper published in 1938, Dr. Quimby analyzes the contents of eleven Indian burials of the historic period in Michigan, stating the dates of interment to be of the late period, 1780 to 1815. In this conclusion Quimby of course utilizes clues from various associated trade materials, but it is notable that his general conclusions were founded upon evidence "apparent from the silver ornaments alone." [9] In nine of the eleven burials discussed, the presence of trade silver artifacts is the basis upon which the author assigns a date. Aside from the identified touch marks appearing upon some of the items, obviously placing limits upon the earliest possible time of burial, the mere occurence of trade silver confines the general period—"there having been found in Michigan no silver objects manufactured before 1780." [10] Equally note-

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7 Which is not necessarily "early-period," as will later be shown. Reference is here made to the materials recovered from graves No. 1 and No. 2, so-called in the site descriptions in **Overton, 1931.** These specimens are now in the Oshkosh Public Museum and include the silver hair-bands in 9-B, products of Schindler.

8 Sites whose content was typically "late-period," especially in regard to trade silver objects, received mention in the Chicago Evening Post article elsewhere noted herein. The sites are in Emmet County, Michigan, and include the burial of "the big Ottawa Chief, Pandikaikawa" (see **Chicago Evening Post, 1898**). For notes on similar and more well-rounded late-period sites in Minnesota, see the following issues of the **Minnesota Archaeologist: July, 1944; April, 1949; July, 1949.**

9 **Quimby, 1938.**

10 **Quimby, 1938, p. 64.** All but a small fraction of the silver pieces studied by Quimby were of Canadian origin.

worthy for the present concern, however, is the fact that these burials, unequivocally "late-period" on the basis of datable trade silver, contain but negligible persisting "early-period" materials. A few brass or copper vessels, a brass bracelet and iron utensils and implements are the only significant objects of metals other than silver.

Noted in the preceding chapter was the work of Gillingham in revealing a mid-18th century date as the earliest time for the New World production of Indian trade silver in any important quantity. Additionally, the confinement of New World touch-marked trade silver to the late 18th and early 19th centuries has been pointed out. Though the foregoing discussion acknowledges instances of corroborating archaeological evidence, the purpose is not merely ingemination of the fact that New World silver is thus confined. Rather, the point being brought forward is that following the mid-18th century not only does silver first become important, but in many cases it replaces in use the baser metals, while the particular forms of ornamental objects persist. Thus the effect is largely a change in the media in which the trade jewelry is fashioned, and the over-all result is that the early-late dichotomy not only attests the "late-period" appearance of silver, but, to a large extent, the discontinuance of base metals in the manufacture of many items. But it has also been noted that some forms of jewelry continued to be fashioned from brass and copper, even during the predominantly silver period. Furthermore, each period features some unique forms. In short, some "early-period" ornamental forms endure both periods, the change in medium from base metal to silver being the noteworthy consideration. Other early types persist throughout both periods, in both form and medium, being fashioned from base metals even during the period of silver's pre-eminence. Still other items are confined to one or the other period in both form and medium. To establish for which objects each of these categories is characteristic, it will be well to discuss the evolution of the important forms of trade ornaments, noting developmental stages and related peculiarities. This will reveal whether there are distinguishable continuities in form or materials, regional or temporal, sufficient

to make more zealous taxonomy of any empirical validity.

The Principal Forms of Metallic Trade Ornaments

CROSSES AND CRUCIFIXES

The cross and the crucifix are forms which were imported by the earliest French missionaries in the Northwest. At this time—the 17th and early 18th centuries—both were made of brass or copper, or occasionally of lead or alloys, and both frequently bore such religious inscriptions as "INRI" (Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum), "IHS" (a monogram representing a contraction of "Jesus" set in Greek characters), "DEI," "SALVATOR," and even "SOUVENIR DE MISSION." In size these pieces were generally small, a length of several inches perhaps being typical, and almost invariably a hole at the top accomodated the means of suspending them about the neck. As documented by contemporary manuscripts, the earliest brass and copper crosses and crucifixes were distributed by the missionaries among native converts. The permanence of such proselytization is in doubt in most instances, however, since almost universally crosses came to be treated as mere ornaments by the aborigines, and with the establishment of trading posts throughout the Great Lakes they became popular commercial items.

Crucifixes are characteristically early, almost invariably of base metals, and generally associated with trade goods of the French regime. Crosses, on the other hand, persisted in popularity until well into the 19th century. Apparently the crosses distributed by the British in the early 18th century were still of brass or copper, but after the conquest of Canada and the beginning of Indian trade silver production by the Montreal and Quebec smiths, silver crosses soon superseded those of inferior metals. Crosses of other metals occasionally appear; such a one is the gold cross reported by Beauchamp from New York.[11] Additionally, the cross, persisting into the 19th century as a popular Indian ornament, came to be in made in German silver (i. e., nickel silver) in the early 1830's (2-E is an example of a type widely found in both silver and Ger-

[11] **Beauchamp, 1903, p. 45.**

man silver. Of the various crosses shown in the Plates, most are Canadian and of silver. Two examples which are apparently of lead are those in 10-H (left, and right bottom).

Silver trade crosses exhibit a number of interesting forms and shapes, though it does not seem that a particularly useful or dependable sequence of such types could be formulated at present. Of single-barred types there are several, conservative or simple Latin forms probably being the rarest. The least ornate usually resemble the item in 2-B, and generally they are as elaborate as that in 10-H (right top), resembling the Botonee form, or 4-H, reminiscent of the Patee cross. Additionally, a number of single-barred crosses conforming to no particular type are encountered. Double-barred types—Patriarchial or Archiepiscopal, as they are usually called in the literature—occur in several quite distinct variations. These might be distinguished as "simple," resembling the Lorraine cross save for the spacing of the bars, or as "ornate," the classification into which the preponderance of examples would fall (2- C, 2-D, and 2-F). Though varying in foliation, a certain continuity will be noted among the latter which distinguishes them from more elaborate forms such as illustrated in 2-E. The Papal cross, bearing three bars, seems to have been a type which, while not so plentifully found as the Archiepiscopal cross, was usually far more elaborate. Of this type 2-A is decidedly typical, and plainer examples are extremely infrequent.

Size is another aspect in which trade silver crosses vary greatly. The smaller types are usually single-barred Latin or simple Archiepiscopal forms, averaging two inches or more in height, and in general being of heavier gauge metal than larger crosses (4-H is a characteristic example). A number of claims for "the largest cross ever found" have appeared in learned society publications in the vicinity of the Great Lakes, and two of the more notorious examples run to eleven and one-half inches in height (found near Fort Snelling, Minnesota) [12] and ten and three-eights inches (from an Indian burial near

[12] See **Wisconsin Archeologist, 1937,** and **1938;** also **Flaskerd, 1940a.**

Marquette, Michigan).[13] A cross from the grave of Pandikaikawa, an Ottawa chief alluded to above, bore the chief's name anrd measured an impressive twelve and one-quarter inches.[14] Beauchamp mentions what may be the largest example, however: a silver cross from the Maumee River district of Ohio, thirteen and one-half inches in height and the "finest foliated silver cross" the writer had seen.[15] Large crosses of this type are typically much foliated, generally single-barred, and occasionally of Celtic form.

GORGETS

Worn ornamentally by the Europeans and natives alike, the gorget has an absorbing past. "Originally," Arthur Woodward explains, "the gorget was a part of the plate-armor worn by the nobility of Europe. . . . When armor was discarded, the gorget, considerably modified, was retained as an insignia of rank."[16] The crescent-shaped gorget thus worn comprised a part of the military uniform of the British officer on the Northwestern frontiers in the years preceding the French and Indian War. The British, gathering their Indian allies about them in anticipation of foreshadowed hostilities, extended officer-rank to various prominent Indian leaders, particularly among the Iroquois, partially in answer to the French practice of creating "Medal Chiefs," no doubt. The individuals so rewarded received the gorget in token of their status and were appropriately dubbed "gorget-captains." (Perhaps the best known of these was "Captain" Joseph Brant.) The practice understandably created a desire for the same emblem among aspiring leaders and younger braves, and though the date at which the gorget joined secular trade commodities is not precisely clear, such British officers as Sir William Johnson and Lord Jeffery Amherst were presenting English-made silver gorgets to the Indians by the hundreds before the 1760's, and the earliest trade silver of the Philadelphia smiths, about the same period, included many of these objects.

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[13] See **Wisconsin Archeologist, 1937.**
[14] **Chicago Evening Post, 1898.**
[15] **Beauchamp, 1903, p. 41.**
[16] **Woodward, 1926, p. 234.**

Nevertheless, their popularity was short-lived, for following the Revolution, the Iroquois' disaffection for the British led to decline of the gorget as a token of distinction among its staunchest devotees, and thereafter it was not long retained.

The specimen illustrated in 6-D is a London piece dating from 1778, and gorgets of this sort were distributed by the British after the mid-18th century. Typically, they featured the likeness of the British Monarch or the British coat of arms, sometimes such decorations appearing upon both sides. The British, of course, expended enormous sums upon Indian patronage—nearly 100,000 English pounds in the 1775-1779 interval alone—and though the English smiths manufactured gorgets of "standard" quality, complete with coats of arms, for sometime averaging about twenty-five shillings, once the more convenient Canadian sources of supply became available the British bought chiefly from them. Such gorgets as that pictured in 3-A (a similar specimen by Cruickshank is owned by the Neville Public Museum at Green Bay) seem characteristic of the less embellished specimens prevalent during the post-Revolutionary period.

An article closely allied to the crescent-shaped gorget is that illustrated in 3-B—a concavo-convex, saucer-like disc, perforated or equipped with studs for a suspending cord. Such objects, averaging perhaps five or six inches in diameter, are variously cited as breastplates, moons, lunes, gorgets, or circular gorgets, but though they have European prototypes, their evolutionary relationship to the crescent gorget is not so clear as might be desired. It is to be noted that the aboriginal use of breastplates and gorgets of stone, bone, shell—and even native copper—has led no small number of early writers to assert the autochthony of the metallic gorget. Both circular and crescent-shaped gorgets occur at least as early as the beginning of the 18th century in forms fashioned in brass, the former appearing in copper as well, and of the two varieties certainly the circular type appears in base metal in greater abundance. Additionally, circular gorgets, typically the later examples in silver, not infrequently feature the likeness of various animals, often labeled "totemic" (3-C, 3-D), whereas the occurence of these upon the crescents seems rel-

atively rarer. Where the earlier brass and copper gorgets of the circular type were manufactured is far less clear than the origin of their silver counterparts. Numerous of the latter were of course made in Montreal. The Oshkosh Public Museum possesses a circular gorget enhanced with a "totemic" design produced by Charles Arnoldi, while a similar specimen in the Neville Museum collections is attributed to Schindler—the former of Montreal, the latter of Quebec. These items are apparently "sterling" and seem to be of better quality than similar gorgets known to have been made by New York smiths. The latter (3-B, for example)were in some cases thinly-plated silver on brass and were quick to deteriorate, though of course the variable circumstances influencing their preservation must be considered.

Altogether, the position of the gorget in Indian-white relations provides an intriguing problem and one which merits further investigation. For unlike most other ornamental finery obtained by the Indians, the gorget's unique symbolic significance gives it a role which makes its historic occurrences susceptible to more precise interpretations—or at least to fuller speculations.

MEDALS

Because they were distributed to the Indians by the Spanish, French, British and American governments over a period of more than two centuries, and because they were struck in literally hundreds of varieties from brass, copper, lead, pewter, bronze, silver and gold, the study of honorary medals represents a vast one. Like gorgets, they were given to native leaders as rewards for service or allegiance, but unlike these, they seem to have gained thorough secularity.

New World colonial powers seem to have initiated the practice of presenting medals to outstanding warriors as early as 1631, at which time Cardinal Richelieu is reported to have ordered a number prepared for Canadian chiefs. At any rate, much mention of this practice is found by the latter 1600's, the first medals from the British colonies on the Atlantic being struck, in 1661, during the reign of Charles II. Early

medals were commonly of brass, and the period during which the first silver specimens appeared is not certain. In 1700, Robert Livingston suggested to Governor Bellomont of the New York area "that his Matys armes be sent to all the 5 Nations and put up one each Castle, and if your Lord thought fit, that some of the Chief Sachems had a badge or the King's armes cut in silver to hang about their necks on solemn days, I presume it would be acceptable." [17] The action taken upon this advice is not recorded, though Queen Anne, the last of the Stuarts, "sent her Picture on silver twenty to each nation to be given to ye Chief Warriors, to be worn about their necks as a token that they shall allwaies be in readinesse to fight under her Banner against the common enemy." [18] Undoubtedly the presentation of medals by the British reached greatest heights under the Hanover sovereigns, however. Large quantities of brass specimens bearing the portraits of George I and George II have been recovered, and of those showing the bust of George III—whose year of accession was 1760—a very great proportion are of silver. After the Revolution a striking variety of Indian "Peace Medals" was issued by the American government, including the famous "Presidential Series" as well as countless others. Generally these were of silver and bronze, though occasionally of pewter and other materials. Esteem for these medals by the Indians of course survived into the present century.

In addition to the peace and honorific medals presented to the aborigines by official government agencies, no small numbers were distributed by the fur-trade companies, various religious sects, and certain other bodies of the "Friendly Association" sort discussed previously. Of the first mentioned, those medals employed by the Hudson's Bay Company have been well documented. The first available consignment of these rewards, struck from brass and termed "Bath Medals," arrived at York Factory from England in 1745. Similar types were used by the Astor enterprises, and distribution of medals by the fur companies unquestionably continued

[17] **O'Callaghan, 1849.** vol. IV, p. 651.
[18] **O'Callaghan, 1853,** vol. V, p. 222.

well into the 1800's.[19] By far the largest class of medals, however, was religious in character, and these occurred in various forms and materials during the entire period of colonial occupation.[20]

While the number of invoices of the mid-18th century Philadelphia silversmiths disclose that medals were being ordered from them, these in general do not seem to have been of the official variety, being rather given out by private agencies. Nor do the Canadian smiths appear to have shared extensively in the production of such medals. Obviously the striking of medals and the fabrication of silver ornaments and jewelry have little more in common than the media in which the work is done. Horse-power, or, after the 1830's, steam-power, was used in the making of medals, whereas the manufacture of most metallic ornaments for the Indian trade involved forging, casting, engraving and other quite unrelated techniques. Doubtless this explains in part why the Montreal smiths partook but little of medal production, the preponderance of these articles being imported from sources in the British Isles.

Since medals do not comprise a category of articles with which the present study is directly concerned, no examples have been included in the Plates. However, excellent specimens may be examined in the collections of the Oshkosh Public Museum, the Milwaukee Public Museum and the Museum of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.[21]

COMMON BROOCHES

Indubitably the most numerous ornaments used by the Indians were brooches, and these were used in all conceivable ways—to fasten and decorate the clothing of both sexes, to enhance sashes, ribbons and headdresses, to secure infants' swaddling bands—and, indeed, anywhere that they could be fastened. 9-H, a Menominee woman's shirt of recent date,

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[19] In the 1840's, Des Noyers' post at Green Bay stocked medals priced as $ .25. See **Brown, 1918.**

[20] Even one bearing the likeness of Pope Pius VII has been recovered in Wisconsin, according to **Brown, 1918.**

[21] See also **Hodge, 1910,** vol. 1, pp. 829-36; **Brown, 1915** and **1918; Flaskerd, 1940b;** and **Beauchamp, 1903.**

suggests the profusion with which these ornaments were earlier worn.

The commonest type of brooch consisted of a plain metal ring, usually silver, with attached tongue, and varying in diameter from one-half inch to an inch or more (3-I). These were worn by the hundreds, not alone by the wealthy, but as a general rule — though the wearing of numbers of larger brooches was in many cases the sign of wealth. Hundreds of these simple ring-brooches have been recovered from single graves, and various paintings and sketches of bedecked Indians, as well as contemporary accounts, indicate their popularity during the fur-trading era. They were common items at the trading posts throughout the Northwest, and their inexpensiveness compared with more complicated brooches—American Fur Company posts, for example, sold them for $2.57 a hundred in the 1820's—made them Indian favorites as well. At such prices the natives could afford to adorn every inch of at least their ceremonial regalia, and did so. 3-H, sections of cloth showing the way in which the brooches were fastened, suggests the bedizened spectacles the costumes must have presented.

Brooches of slightly more elaborate types appear in 3-J and 4-A. These forms were equally popular among the northeastern Indians, though they occur in lesser numbers. But the wide range and considerable duration of popularity of this general ornamental form is indicated by comparison of the items in 3-J, 4-A, and 3-F (bottom right), recovered from a 19th century Indian burial in Michigan, and the similar specimens in 6-B (center row, right; bottom row, right and two on left), 4-F (bottom, center) and 4-G (bottom center and right), identified as Iroquois, 5-F (lower right) and 4-I (lower left), late eastern Oneida, and 5-G (top right), Wisconsin Oneida. In considering this sequence of brooches it is instructive to note that of the first mentioned examples, one (4-A, left) is a Cruickshank product and another (4-A, center) was made by Charles Arnoldi. Such prototypes of simple circular brooches as these are demonstrably separated from their modern counterparts by what must approach a century.

Brooches of a squarish or diamond shape, exceedingly com-

mon among the "Five Nations" (see examples in 6-B, 4-F and 5-F), comprise another distinct variety. The majority of examples shown are of German silver, many presumably of native manufacture, but it is again noteworthy that what must almost certainly be the harbinger of this form is exemplified by two brooches in the Oshkosh Public Museum, examined by the writer, and found to bear the touch mark of Robert Cruickshank. [22]

Perusal of the Plates and accompanying data will suggest stylistic affiliations between numerous other early trade ornaments and later native work. Other circular brooches of the ornate, crenulated, perforated and incised varieties will enter the discussion below, but at this point two unique brooch types, concerning which there has been considerable misunderstanding and debate, will be taken up.

HEART BROOCHES

Into this general class of brooches fall those formed of one or two intertwined hearts, often surmounted with a crown. 5-A, 5-B, 5-C, 5-D and 5-F (top, three on right) illustrate typical examples. Various authorities have been inclined to view these, particularly the double-heart types, as lyres or harps, intertwined serpents, and so on. Because of their great prevalence among those people, the double-heart is frequently cited as the "national badge of the Iroquois," and indeed a chief questioned by Harrington substantiated this in stating that the intertwining hearts represented "the Iroquois nations united in friendship . . . the brooches formerly (being) considered a sort of badge or emblem identifying the wearer, male or female, as an Iroquois." [23] Certainly this interpretation is supported by the dearth of these brooches beyond the Iroquois territory, but this casts little light upon the form's origin. Nor does the purported symbolic significance of the crowned single-heart (typically as in 5-A, top, left and center),

[22] Dr. Carl Schuster, of the American Museum of Natural History, who for some years has concerned himself with the uncertain origin of this brooch form, advises the writer that he favors a European origin.

[23] **Harrington, 1908a,** p. 335.

continually referred to by Harriet Converse as "the Owl," and labeled by Carrie Lyford as "Guardian of the Night," further the the quest for an origin. [24]

Arthur Parker is generally recognized as first having disclosed the interesting origin of these brooches. Beauchamp, though disinclined to acknowledge the debt of Iroquois smiths to European patterns, makes several allusions to this possibility in 1903, but certainly it was Parker, seven years later, who disposed of "the Owl" and "the Lyre." [25] In a scholarly expose in the American Anthropologist, Parker states:

> "An examination of the archaeological investigations in England, and especially Yorkshire, revealed the fact that the builders of the burial cairns in Britain used the circular brooch with a tongue fastener, in all essential respects similar to the earliest types of brooches used by the Iroquois and other eastern Indians. This led to further investigations which resulted in the discovery that the 'Iroquois brooch' was in reality of Scotch or at least British origin, and that brooches of silver, many types of which are similar to Indian-made varieties, were known in Scotland as "Luckenbooth brooches.'" [26]

These conclusions have cleared up the matter to the satisfaction of all, and the only important amendments have been cited by Professor Traquair. From a catalogue of the Scottish Exhibition of National History (Glasgow, 1911), Traquair has unearthed the following:

> "The heart-shaped brooch in various forms was in use in many countries of western Europe, e. g. Scandinavia, Germany and England. In England it was one of the commonest forms in mediaeval times and was probably introduced about the XIII century. I am unable to suggest

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[24] See **Converse, 1900; Lyford, 1945.**

[25] **Beauchamp, 1903,** p. 91, comes this close: ". . . a learned German friend pointed out to the writer several brooches of what he said were Scandinavian and other types in his collection, but there has been no time to study the subject, and illustrations are not now recalled."

[26] **Parker, 1910,** p. 353. Parker illustrates both Iroquois and Scotch examples or "Luckenbooth" brooches, and the similarities are remarkable.

when it came into Scotland but do not consider any of the examples as previous to say 1700. This type of brooch is commonly known as a Luckenbooth Brooch on the supposition that they were made in the Luckenbooths that clustered round St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh. Sometimes they were called witch brooches, a name due to the belief that, if pinned in (sic) a child, they kept off spells. They are however love tokens. . .'' [27]

The other critical problem pertaining to heart-brooches concerns the time of their infusion into the stream of Indian trade. ''A few heart brooches,'' says Traquair, ''have been found marked R. C. showing that the Montreal smiths were imitating them and incidentally, that the date at which they were in use was probably the end of the 18th century.'' [28] (6-C is such a brooch.) Traquair observes that a great number of the Montreal ''Fur-Barons'' of the day were Scotsmen and hence the importation of these brooches ''is easy to understand.'' Gillingham has of course shown that heart brooches entered the silver trade nearly a half-century earlier. His 1936 work dealing with Indian ornaments manufactured by Philadelphia smiths contains numerous manuscript citations revealing that Richardson and Syng supplied silver ''heart brooches'' for the trade. [29] This evidence received earlier publication, however, in a work by Louise Avery in 1930. [30]

These details suggest one further question which, upon the basis of present evidence, cannot be completely answered.. If heart brooches were supplied from major sources in both Canada and the American colonies, why did they remain so largely restricted to the Iroquois' Lake Ontario homeland? Of other ornamental forms originally appearing among the Iroquois, many allegedly have been transmitted to tribes further west, either by simple diffusion, or by migrations (principally of the Brothertown, Stockbridge and Oneida in the early 1830's). At least one writer on the subject stresses the suggestion that later silverworking among such tribes as those

[27] **Traquair, 1938,** p. 4
[28] **Traquair, 1938,** p. 4.
[29] **Gillingham, 1936.**
[30] **Avery, 1930.**

of Wisconsin "might represent a craft primarily introduced (as a result of such) Western movements." [31] Certainly the fabulous numbers of Iroquois heart-brooches of German silver (a material first available in the 1830's, much less than a decade before the Oneida movements) makes ill-advised the supposition that hearts had dwindled in importance among the Iroquois before the Oneida's departure and hence were not much revived in the Oneida's new territory. Furthermore, single and double heart-brooches do appear among the work of the Wisconsin Oneida, but examples of these, or, indeed, even faintly similar motifs, are strikingly absent among the products of such of the Oneida's alleged proteges as the Menominee. Perhaps, since the article was a "national badge," its dissemination to aliens was thought sacrilege.

The question of regional differences in the influences operative upon native silverworkers, as advanced above in connection with heart forms, equally well applies to squarish-type brooches, masonic pins and several less well characterized ornaments. Evidence contributing toward solution of the question will be presented in Chapter V.

MASONIC BROOCHES

A brooch form almost as peculiarly Iroquoian as the "national badge" is that variously made up of compasses, squares and distortions of other Masonic emblems. (The examples in 5-E, 5-F and 4-I are typical.) It is to be wondered at that the natives should so extensively embrace such a pattern. Certainly as long ago as the Revolutionary period Free Masonry had been adopted by some of the Indians, and Captain Joseph Brant, the very Westernized Mohawk Sachem and staunch friend of the English, was perhaps the best known of these. An interesting tale linking Brant with the order is related by H. L. Johnson in this work on famous Indian chiefs. In a "foray into Cherry Valley (New York)" in 1778 it seems that a certain Major Wood was about to be slain when "either by accident or design he made a Masonic signal, although he did not belong to that order." Brant, being present, ex-

[31] **Baerreis, 1950,** p. 82.

claimed: "'Brother! you shall not die. I am a Mason and will protect you.' So he stayed the tomahawk and set the fellow free." [32] In any event, as Beauchamp says, "Brant was a well known member of the Fraternity." Red Jacket, the sagacious chief of the Senecas during the same period, is also reported to have been a Mason, but with these individuals the list of Indian members is practically ended. Beauchamp illustrates twenty-some Masonic brooches and notes that they are "in themselves far more in number than all the Indian Free Masons known." [33]

Why this ornamental form originally achieved such popularity is not entirely clear, though the possibility that it was desired as a prestige symbol, in view of its esteem by the whites, is not to be ignored. Of a different opinion is Traquair, who feels that masonic-type brooches "were simply imported with the others." [34] One point is clear, however, and that is that in their later use the objects had little more than decorative value. "I may say here," Harrington states, "that most of the Indians do not recognize the significance of this pattern, but use it simply as an ornament." [35] That the natives frequently referred to the design as "council fire" and wore the brooches upside down bears out this interpretation.

Little more can be said of these brooches once their prevalence among the Iroquois has been acknowledge. If any, but few seem to be the work of New World silversmiths, and to the writer's knowledge none has been found touch-marked. Further, trade records contain no mention of brooches so designed. That the examples shown in the Plates are of German silver or similar alloy, while the score figured by Beauchamp are all of silver, affirms a transfer of the pattern from the latter medium to the former, but precisely when and by whom

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32 **Johnson, 1909,** p. 277.
33 **Beauchamp, 1903,** p. 91.
34 **Traquair, 1938,** p. 4.
35 **Harrington, 1908a,** p. 355.

is debatable.[36] Unlike more conventiontal brooch forms which generally exhibit hammer impressions, masonic brooches of both silver and German silver appear to have been cast and to have received no additional working. Silver examples, such as those said to be heirlooms from Brand, may place the date of their appearance in the late 18th century, while the German silver types substantiate their mid-19th century production. That they have been collected from extant Indians indicates their continued use but sheds no revealing light upon the latest date of their manufacture.

EAR ORNAMENTS

Among types of ear decorations early available to the Great Lakes Indians as presents or trade goods, or later found in native metalwork, several classes may be discerned. The simplest are of the conical "bangle" sort, usually in inch or so in length, fashioned from copper or silver most commonly, but also of brass, iron, tin and alloys. Of this type 9-E is representative, the specimens there shown being made of hollow sheet-silver. Ornaments of this general type had a notably wide distribution as well as a long period of use. It has been mentioned above that such articles were in use during the 17th century, from which era the presumtive iron and brass bangles of the Ste. Marie I site were derived. The earliest examples in the accompanying illustrations are probably those in 9-E, while the somewhat modified forms in 7-C and 7-D are of more recent making. While the pictured specimens of this type represent only scattered localities in New York, Michigan and Ontario, similar articles in the collections of the Milwaukee Public Museum reveal their presence among the historic Winnebago, Menominee, Wisconsin Ojibwe, Wisconsin and Oklahoma Sauk, Dakota Sioux, and so on. Among these tribes the conical ornaments were silver, brass and copper, and, as well as being used for ear ornamentation, they

[36] It is to be noted that Beauchamp (1903) does not label any of his artifacts as German silver, however, and it is therefore possible that the distinction between this and genuine silver was not made by him. Many of his specimens are recognized as pewter, or bell metal, however. (German silver of course contains no silver; see Chapter V.)

adorned otter and beaver skin medicine bags, deer-hoof rattles, footgear and various articles of dress. In short, the long temporal popularity and wide geographical range of these conical ornaments as well as their varied uses, makes impracticable the reference to regional or temporal types. This is less true of remaining varieties.

An American Fur Company invoice, dated 1821 and accompanying goods sent to the post near Milwaukee, lists "Ear Wheels" at $1.44 per pair, and "large Round Ear Bobs" at fourteen-cents per pair.[37] What the latter items may be is uncertain, but the price of the former bespeaks magnificence—perhaps of the ilk of the specimens in 10-G. Excepting the material, certainly the pictured specimens might be appropriately described as "round flat thin pieces of silver, about the size of a dollar," which was Weld's description of "ear-rings" observed by him among the Indians near Detroit in the 1790's. This general form is perhaps most common in German silver (e. g., 10-G, left), but silver specimens are not uncommon, and a number appear in copper or cupreous alloys (9-D, and Oklahoma Kickapoo example, and 10-G, right, Menominee). 7-D left, a late Menominee piece, is probably of lead. Altogether, the confinement of this type of ornament to the more western areas of the Great Lakes seems apparent. It is noteworthy that Beauchamp's comprehensive survey of metallic jewelry of New York tribes, in which the entire gamut of ornaments is illustrated in over four-hundred figures, includes not one piece akin to this form. The very adequate collection of Oneida jewelry owned by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin is similarly lacking in this type of object. On the other hand, collections from the native tribes of the Wisconsin area, in particular the Menominee, display this form in abundance. Dr. David A. Baerreis, in discussing Iroquois and Menominee work, also has pointed out that in comparison with the former, the latter "differs in the types or earrings," and among the valuable illustrations contained in his fine paper are a number of characteristic Menominee examples.[38]

[37] See **Brown, 1918.**
[38] **Baerreis, 1950,** p. 31.

The favorite earring types of the Iroquois may be taken to epitomize those popular among many of the eastern tribes, for the Iroquois, both because of their great influence as a confederacy and their renown in attention to finery, traditionally set the styles in native dress among the historic tribes in the New York-New England region. Characteristic among their ear ornaments were such as may be seen in 4-E, 4-H, 4-I and 7-C, center—and 4-G and 2-G, which objects possess masonic motifs. The white-made prototypes for these forms can be demonstrated in most cases. Their distinction as a class, differing from the two above discussed forms, should be obvious. The Kickapoo earrings in 9-C do not readily fall into any of the categories postulated, however.

The records of early silversmiths who supplied Indian trade jewelry frequently verified the early distribution of ear ornaments, but with few exceptions the various types were lumped under the appelations "ear bobs," or simply "earring." The accounts of Issac Weld and other travelers suggest the wide spread of silver ear ornaments before 1800, but the earliest date of their prevalence is unclear. Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company show that the first trade silver used by that concern was in the year 1790, when one-hundred pairs of silver earrings were shipped to Albany Factory, and another fifty pairs to Eastmain—but earrings of undisclosed sorts, presumably of brass, had been used by the Company well before 1760, according to evidence uncovered by Barbeau. All evidence considered, it seems that earrings and ear bobs of various kinds, particularly the conical types in copper or silver, must have early occupied a prominent place in the trinket-department of the traders' stocks. More sophisticated ear decor, seeming to have greater incidence among the Iroquois tribes, may represent mid-18th century patterns. Lastly, the unique type so closely identified with the Menominee, is not inconceivably the product of native design, since the existence of ancient examples is palpably inferential.

BANDS AND BRACELETS

Favorite trappings of the Indians were bands of all sorts, and under this label might be included armlets, leg bands,

numerous styles of bracelets, hair bands, and assorted germane articles. Copper, brass and silver were the most common metals for these objects, though German silver became important later, and even tin had its place. Quimby has noted that bracelets of heavy brass wire occur most commonly in the period preceding the mid-18th century, being superseded in popularity by the later introduction of silver, and to an extent this characterization applies to copper. The form of the copper and brass bands and bracelets differs markedly from that of silver varieties, for while the former are typically narrow and round in cross-section, being sometimes solid metal but more frequently rolled sheet stock, those of silver are overwhelmingly of the wide, flat, thin, and generally fluted sort epitomized by specimens observable in 2-H, 2-I, 4-C and 4-D. Beauchamp mentions that nowhere had he seen the broad type in brass, and examples in any of the base metals must be rare. [39] That the brass type continued in demand at least into the 19th century is attested by trade records, however. Francis Malhiot, proprietor of the post at Lac du Flambeau in 1804, was selling one "large armlet" at the price of "one plus" (i. e., for one beaver pelt, generally indicated by the plus-sign, at which price the armlets were presumably of brass). Des Noyers sold "wrist bands" to the Indians of the Green Bay country at twenty-five cents a pair in 1844. These must have been of base metal, perhaps of brass, for his stock also included wrist bands at $2.00 per pair, more like the price obtained for the silver article. American Fur Company invoices of 1821 list three-inch bands for about $2.50 a pair and one-inch wrist bands $1.47 for six, and at least the former may have been silver. [40] Records from the Grignon-Porlier post at Butte des Morts also show that sale of "thick brass wire" bracelets was important in the early 19th century. [41] Altogether, the emerging picture reveals the early presence of simple brass and copper bracelet forms, while flat bands of silver, and silver-

[39] **Beauchamp, 1903,** p. 22. Broad brass types fashioned from continuous strands of concentrically wound wire have been noted of course.

[40] These and other trade data appear in **Brown, 1918.**

[41] See **Overton, 1940.**

plated brass, used as bracelets, armlets, etc., intruded the late 18th century trade and diminished the demand for the former. Since such great number of silver bands of the broad fluted type bear initials or marks of Montreal smiths (4-C and 4-D, among those illustrated), quite precisely placing them in time, this assertion is probably unquestionable. 9-B illustrates a rarer form of silver band, probably used as a hair ornament of child's bracelet, here bearing initials presumed to be those of Jonas Schindler of Quebec.

A notable difference between most German silver bracelets and any of the forms discussed above will be obvious from inspection of 7-G through 7-J and 8-A through 8-E, which are Menominee articles. Since these are possibly all of native manufacture, their extended discussion will be delayed until the next chapter, but in regard to the patterns after which they might have been fashioned, trade bracelets of silver seem not to have appeared in anything like this form anywhere in the Great Lakes area. Nor do New York Iroqouis or Wisconsin Oneida pieces seem especially similar. That in both decoration and proportions they bear most resemblance to certain simple bracelets of Southwestern Indian silversmiths, particularly Navajo, is a curious fact. [42]

8-F through 8-H, Kickapoo pieces, show an interesting belt-motif which has also been noted among late Iroquois objects. Persistence of stylistic influence from the fluted silver trade bands of the late 18th and early 19th centuries is suspected in the arm and leg bands in 10-I and 10-J, items collected from the Menominee in the 1920's and made from heavy sheet tin.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES

The study of trade rings is an interesting one and leads from brass and bronze examples bearing religious symbols and inscription, prevalent in the Jesuit period, through the late 18th century ascendancy of trade silver types, to the German silver Indian-crafted phase. Decorations appearing upon ring faces

[42] The fact is more than curious, of course, since incontestable historic connections exist between early Navajo and eastern patterns. The matter will be discussed in Chapter V. See **Woodward, 1946.**

vary through time. In addition to the Jesuit motif of the early brass and bronze specimens, some were set with colored glass, while plainer rings of these metals continued into the 19th century as fur-trade merchandise. Gold rings were abundant at no period, though a few have occurred in early period sites. The occurrence of crude iron wire rings has also been mentioned occasionally. Silver rings have rarely been noted in the early 1700's or before, but toward the end of that century Canadian silversmiths probably produced considerable numbers, though examples bearing identifiable marks are again rare. Of German silver rings there is no paucity, however, and several are illustrated herewith. 7-F shows Wisconsin Oneida examples, and the belt-motif, related to that of certain Iroquois objects, is noteworthy. The rings in 7-E are of Iroquois origin, and the similarity of the item on the right to that in 7-F is conspicuous. 6-E is a menominee ring of common type. Hearts were also common decorative motifs on rings. Frequently the rings of German silver, and especially those of genuine silver, were considerably more massive than the examples illustrated.

Objects used for hair adornment, and usually referred to as hair plates, are pictured in 2-J, 2-L and 10-H (fragments in center row). How late these persisted and from what materials other than silver they were made is not certain. The examples illustrated are certainly products of Canadian smiths about 1800, for 2-K shows the "MONTREAL" mark from the reverse of the hair plate in 2-J, and the object in 2-L was manufactured by Cruickshank. The fragmental object in 10-H (center row, extreme right), though resembling hair plate form in a general way, may be a star brooch. In any event, it is lead or a plumbic alloy. Two silver hair plates from New York are labeled by Beauchamp as early forms of the circular brooch, and it is conceivable that some may have been so worn. The use described by Woodward is probably more typical, however: "Originally the hair plates were attached in a graduating string to the long false cue of hair affected by so many of the Plains tribes. Thus had these hair ornaments been worn in the East by some of the Cherokee, Dela

ware and Shawnee. However, the Dakota, Crow, Cheyenne, Kiowa, Comanche, Ute and possibly the Oto, Osage, and Omaha, wore these round discs and oval ornaments as hair decorations and also fastened to leather belts."[43]

Articles variously called headbands, hatbands, crowns or coronets, diadems, tiaras, or backcombs, are probably alike in function. Though they are sometimes used by the Indians to encircle the crowns of hats, with equal frequency, secured by cords or thongs at the back, they served as foundation units for headdresses of various sorts. Probably early trade types appeared during the Revolutionary era, as may be the case with the Ottawa specimens in 4-B, while the important function of the device must have assured its continued use into the German silver period (of which material the Kickapoo articles in 10-B and 10-C are made).

Of bells, Charles Brown writes: "the Wisconsin Indians have always had a special fondness (for bells), using them in the ornamentation of garments and sometimes wearing them in strings on the wrists and ankles in their dances, or suspended from plaits of the hair."[44] Similar reports have been entered by travelers and observers throughout the Great Lakes as early as the 18th century. Sleigh bells, or similar (lighter) types called hawk or morris bells, were made most commonly of brass, but they have also been described in copper, pewter, tin and bell metal. Malhiot was selling these at his Lac du Flambeau post in 1804 at the price of forty (small sized) for three beaver skins, according to Brown. Silver trade bells were less common than other types.

Allied to sleigh bells is a class of "tinklers," including minature clapperless bells, commonly of brass, and simple trade thimbles. In use as medicine bag decorations, footgear ornaments and clothing adornments, these objects have been observed among most of the historic tribes of the upper Mississippi valley. Exhibits at the Milwaukee Public Museum include examples from the Blackfoot, Dakota, Sioux, Ioway, Kansas Potawatomi, Oklahoma Sauk, Wisconsin Ojibwe,

[43] **Woodward, 1946,** pp. 7-8.
[44] **Brown, 1918,** p. 89.

Winnebago and Menominee—and they were at least as popular among the eastern tribes at an earlier time. Specimens have been collected from various Wisconsin tribes within the past decade, and bells are still widely popular, needless to say, in Indian dance paraphernalia and the like.

FIG. 1: TEMPORAL AND REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN TWENTY-THREE PRINCIPAL TYPES OF METALLIC TRADE ORNAMENTS.

Key: (1) Brass (2) Copper (3) Iron (4) Lead (5) Pewter (6) Silver (7) Bronze (8) German Silver (?) Prevalence Uncertain

	Before 1700	1700-1760	1760-1830	After 1830	New York	West. Lakes
Crucifixes	124	124	——	——	Yes	Yes
Simple Crosses	124	124	6	68	Yes	Yes
Ornate Crosses	——	——	6	6	Yes	Yes
English Gorgets	1	1	16	——	Yes	Yes
New World Gorgets	——	——	6	——	Yes	Yes
Jesuit Medals	1257	1257	——	——	Yes	Yes
Peace Medals	——	1257	124567	124567	Yes	Yes
Presidential Medals	——	——	124567	124567	Yes	Yes
Ring-type Brooches	——	——	6	6	Yes	Yes
Square Brooches	——	——	6	68	Yes	Yes
Heart Brooches	——	——	6	68	Yes	No
Masonic Brooches	——	——	6	68	Yes	No
Conical Ear Ornaments	12	12	126	126	Yes	Yes
Circular Ear Ornaments	——	——	?	268	No	Yes
Ornate Ear Ornaments	——	?	16	168	Yes	No
Armlet and Leg Bands	——	12	6	6	Yes	Yes
Flat Fluted Bracelets	——	——	6	68	Yes	Yes
Heavy Wire Bracelets	12	12	12	12	Yes	Yes
Jesuit Rings	17	17	——	——	Yes	Yes
Plain Rings	17	17	16	68	Yes	Yes
Hair Plates	——	?	6	68	Yes	Yes
Headbands	——	——	6	68	Yes	Yes
Bells	?	12	126	126	Yes	Yes

GENERALIZATIONS

A condensation of the material discussed at length above will be found in Fig. 1. The column on the left lists the principal types of metallic ornaments revelant to consideration of the Great Lakes trade, while of the remaining vertical columns, the four on the left indicate variations of materials in time, and the two on the right contrast the New York-Iroquoian and Michigan-Wisconsin areas. Only broad trends are in-

dicated in the figure; in any single time interval a given ornament may occassionally appear in other metals than those noted. Similarly, in contrasting the eastern and western areas, "Yes" connotes "entirely characteristic," and "No," "non-characteristic." The figure should be examined with these qualifications in mind.

The purpose served by this condensed form is the exposure of certain continuities and discontinuities. The most readily apprehended phenomenon is the ascendancy of silver with the beginning of the 1760-1830 period, which of course is due primarily to the commencement of Canadian silversmithing for the Indian trade. Though silver was in use in the manufacture of crosses, gorgets and medals imported from European sources before the 1760's, it was far overshadowed by the early metals indicated for those articles. Two other conspicuous phenomena are the pre-1760 predominance of brass and copper, and the high post-1830 incidence of German silver. An additionally noteworthy point is the association of Jesuit influence with the early pre-eminence of base-metallic ornaments.

Of the early (i. e., pre-1760) ornaments of brass and copper, three divisions may be made. Those intimately linked with the Jesuit influence—crucifixes, Jesuit medals and Jesuit rings—understandably diminish with the decline of French sovereignty. For a second class of ornaments—for the introduction of which the Jesuits may have been largely responsible, but which soon became secular in nature—plain crosses and simple rings among these—a demand had become sufficiently established to encourage manufacture in silver with the coming of the 1760's. A third class, brass and copper ornaments which probably had never had much connection with Jesuit activities but were more largely the sorts of trinkets used in the earliest fur-trade negotiation — simple conical ear ornaments, bells, and crude wire bracelets in particular—had perhaps become so widely accepted that the natives preferred to invest their pelts in silver jewelry of newer forms with the advent of that metal. Thus these jewelry articles, though joined by silver counterparts, continued popular in base metals through the 19th century.

The fact that large, ornate crosses seldom appear in metals other than silver likely may be assigned to the uses to which they were put. Certainly they were not common trade items, but were rather intended for leading tribesmen. A present in cheaper medium often would have been sufficient cause to turn the individual—and the hordes he might represent—to the cause of the enemy. It is more the wonder that gold was uncommon. The change in gorgets from brass, to brass and silver, probably needs little explanation. The period at which the silver types increased was the period of increased competition for Indian alliances—between the British and French in the 1750's, and between the British and Americans in the 1770's. Thus, in regard to gorgets, probably large ornate crosses, and certainly medals, a permissable generalization is that such items of honorific significance and diplomatic usage were made in silver as soon as it became widely available for Indian trade products. It bespoke more honor; it also possessed a higher value in the fur-trader's pawn rack.

That the various types of medals distributed by government agencies varied so greatly in material is susceptible to logical explanation. A variety of materials enabled the manufacture of a series of medals, hierarchical in both intrinsic and extrinsic value. The Indians were well aware that medals of lead did not betoken so much respect as medals of silver, either as gifts from the whites or as ornaments and insignia among themselves.

The very great and wide-spread popularity of silver armlets and flat fluted bracelets of silver may be best explained upon the grounds that these new styles in trade jewelry and the use of silver were ushered in concomitantly. Generally speaking, they had no exact antecedents in the early period, and their combined novelty, value, and downright gorgeousness probably contributed to their delightfulness to the aborigines. Furthermore, the objects made their appearance at a time when the upper Mississippi valley tribesmen had fabulous numbers of pelt to trade, and the Montreal silversmiths were not ones to ignore the native fancies. The popularity soon after their introduction of silver headbands, hair plates,

and the general run of circular brooches of silver, may be similarly explained no doubt.

Why masonic and heart brooches did not appear in base metals has already been answered; they were forms which accompanied the opening of the silver era. On the other hand, why these two articles, along with distinctive earring-types, remained largely confined to the New York Indians is unclear. This is not to say that some heart brooches are not among the trade goods known to have arrived among the western tribes. Indeed, they have been recovered in Wisconsin, Michigan and all states adjoining—but in nothing like the impressive numbers reported from the Iroquois country. And the case is more pronounced in regard to masonic brooches and the earring-types alluded to. An intriguing phenomenon also exists in the other direction in the case of "circular" ear ornaments, the type so high in Menominee favor. A trade-material prototype for this article seems to be lacking both in Wisconsin and elsewhere.

Finally, the role of German silver is nicely delineated by reference to Fig. 1. It is exempt from use in honorary medals for obvious reasons. Likewise, it is a poor metal for bells, which continued, after 1830, to be cheaply made from brass, pewter and bell metal anyhow. For large armlets and leg bands it is a bit too brittle unless high in copper content, in which case it becomes lackluster. It is, in fact, an ideal material for rings, crosses, bracelets, large brooches and similar paraphernalia the desirable qualities in which are high sheen, gaudiness and small expense.

The outlining of differences in trade-ornament styles in time and space is of course rewarding regardless of the breadth of the generalizations obtained therefrom. For, having characterized the types of trade jewelry to which the natives were subjected, and having noted the several prominent inconsistencies as well as the many prominent regularities, we are now in a position to investigate the origin and development of smithing by the Indians themselves, being fully cognizant of the influences, in terms of trade styles, impinging upon the native craft.

CHAPTER V

INDIAN SILVERSMITHING IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION

The Origin of Native Silverwork

At the full tide of the "Era of Discovery," European navigators and explorers, penetrating the inland areas of eastern North America, found a curious thing. The primitive aborigines possessed implements and ornaments of copper. Cartier heard tales of this from the Montreal natives as early as 1535. Da Verazanno reported wrought copper breastplates among the Indians of the Atlantic coast even earlier, and de Soto observed the use of copper hatchets in Georgia. Hudson, Van Curler, Champlain, and many others made mention of this interesting phenomenon, but at the same time none described native manufacture of the artifacts. From this, and from the supposition that the aborigines were incapable of such sophisticated industries, arose the belief that the copper must have been introduced at an earlier date from European sources. To whom the Indians might have been indebted for this introduction remained uncertain; perhaps the ubiquitous Norsemen.

As metallic ornaments and implements came to be recovered in increasing abundance during the century past, scholars were hard put for satisfactory explanations. A constructive step was taken by F. H. Cushing in the 1890's when he set about to manufacture copper articles with only such equipment as would have been available to the prehistoric North Americans. These experiments,[1] and others by C. C. Willoughby,[2] tended to substantiate the then unpopular notion that the art of metalworking had been an indigenous one among the Woodland Indians, and that the Indians' debt to the Norsemen, or indeed to any Europeans, had been negligible. Proof was otherwise available, however, in metallurgical analysis of the native artifacts, for the purity of native copper contrasted markedly with the best of European metal

[1] **Cushing, 1894.**
[2] **Willoughby, 1903.**

available until this century. In any event, the art of copper working was accepted as autochthonous, and archaeological evidence since that time of course has defined an Old Copper complex flourishing back perhaps more than several millenia, and a subsequent renaissance in the highly impressive metalwork of the Hopewell horizon. Such investigation, however, has likewise corroborated the fact that indigenous metalwork was probably a "lost art" by the 17th century—though again, the implements observed in native use by the early explorers reveal that it was not long gone. The latter fact is also attested by the lore of many natives still extant: as late as 1921 Alanson Skinner wrote of the Menominee that "the elders still repeat traditions concerning the ancient use of native copper."[3] But in short, the fact of the matter is that 19th century Indian metalwork in North America, in the Southwest as well as in the Eastern Woodlands, was in no wise a continuation, scion or revival of an aboriginal industry. It could have been; it may have missed being so by only a century or two.

Having observed that no small effort was involved in establishing the indigenousness of prehistoric native copperworking, it is a droll comparison to note that various writers on the Northeastern Indians of the 1800's presumed a native origin for their silvercraft. The presumption was not without credibility of course, since silver ornaments had been introduced long before, especially by the British, and the original sources of supply were no longer apparent. The Indians had long since begun their own silverwork, and on the surface of things, nothing could have been more logical than the supposition that the production of the silver ornaments was a native industry. As Parker says, "The Indians wore them, made them, and had the tools and smiths for their manufacture."[4] The conclusion could not be faulty; but it was, and the actual story begins some hundred years earlier.

Iroquois Silversmithing

Somewhere around the mid-18th century silver jewelry be-

[3] **Skinner, 1921a,** p. 279.
[4] **Parker, 1910,** p. 356.

came available to the Northeastern Indians and almost immediately thereafter came into universal popularity. Earlier writers were often inclined to the belief that large-scale introduction began in the early part of the century (e. g., A. C. Parker), or even that native silverwork itself began at that time (e. g., M. R. Harrington), but more recent research discloses that little more than a few medals, and fewer crosses, were the silver gifts to the Indians of the day.

Arthur Woodward proposes the date 1740, founded upon considerable documentary evidence, as the earliest time at which silver ornaments were generally obtainable by the Northeastern Indians, and the following are the tribes to which he refers: Iroquois, Delaware, Micmac, Cherokee, Alibamu, Shawnee, Choctaw, Creek, Yuchi, Penobscot, Kickapoo, Koasati, Miami, Ottawa, Huron, Wea, Pottawatomi, Illinois, Ojibwa, Sauk, Fox, Iowa and Seminole. Among these, the tribes with which trading relations had been most firmly established were understandably the ones first to receive the silver impact. This would particularly include the Iroquois, Delaware, Huron and Ottawa, who, having positions on the peripheries of "civilization" which were advantageous for themselves but menacing for the Europeans, were patronized from all quarters. The overwhelming importance of the Iroquois tribes during this period, plus the fuller documentary evidence regarding them, has led most authorities to the still narrower generalization that the "use of silver ornaments began among the Iroquois."[5] In any event, silver jewelry and ornaments, and other commodities as well, were showered upon the willing natives for another half-century by the competing governmental interests as well as the ambitious traders, but at length the flow dwindled and the dwindling threatened to cease altogether. The fur-bearing denizens of the eastern forests had been all but annihilated by overly-intensive trapping, and the opening of the West bade the traders to new adventure and greater fortune. Nor was there now great reason for the Canadians and Americans to bribe and coerce the eastern Indians with more than paltry medals and tawdry

[5] **Traquair, 1938,** p. 1.

trinkets. Thus abandoned, the natives of New York and the area surrounding had limited recourse; greatly acculturated to Western ways, they had little choice but to follow the white man's way. Though perhaps not so crucial as the question of whence the next meal would come, this also meant that if they desired a supply of silver jewelry in the abundance to which they had become accustomed, they would have to engage in the craft themselves.

When the Iroquois and their eastern neighbors began their silversmithing cannot be ascertained exactly, but evidence gained both from contemporary sources and examination of specimens suggests a time within a few years of 1800. Woodward has uncovered evidence showing that among the Iroquois' erstwhile relatives, the Cherokee, there were to be found forty-nine practicing silversmiths as early as 1809.[6] That the Delawares, leaving their coastal homeland, carried knowledge of smithing to the tribes of the Texas region, also confirms the early spread of native work, for the Delawares did not depart westward until 1820. Near the mid-century L. H. Morgan noted the prevalence of a silvercraft among the Iroquois, and writing in 1852 he stated:

> "The most of the silver ornaments in later years have been made by Indian silversmiths, one of whom may be found in nearly every Indian village. They are either made of brass or silver, or from silver coins pounded out, and then cut into patterns with metallic instruments."[7]

This date, however, must near the apogee of native silverworking in the East, for by the century's turn it remained the profession of but a few aged smiths.

Of the techniques employed in Iroquois silverwork during the 19th century, regretably little is known, and inference based upon examination of recovered specimens constitutes the primary source of information. Nevertheless, there is available at least one precise account relating to the basic procedures of native silverwork. This account, provided by M. R. Harrington, describes the making of a silver star-brooch

6 **Woodward, 1946.**
7 **Morgan, 1852,** p. 89.

by an aged Onondaga smith called Chief Levi Joe. Because the picture it conveys must represent in general the practices employed in the working of silver during much of the period of Indian smithing, and because few comparable accounts are available, Harrington's narrative is well worth quoting at length. [8]

> "Brooches were usually made out of coins. A coin of the proper size having been secured (in this case a Canadian dime), the chief laid it upon the anvil and carefully beat it with a heavy hammer . . . until its diameter increased nearly an inch and its thickness reduced to little more that that desired for the finished brooch. . . . The metal was pounded cold without even annealing. . . . The next task was to smooth the face of the blank with a file and lay it off along the lines of the future brooch. Chief Joe had planned for a star brooch in this instance and to this end he made a tin pattern of approximately the shape and size that he wished for the completed ornament. 'We always cut patterns of tin or something cheap,' he said, 'for all the different kinds of brooches and crosses we want to make.' Laying this pattern where he could see it, he perforated the centre of the blank with one of the awls. Then using the pincers as dividers . . . he laid off a circle to mark out the central opening of the brooch, the tip of the pincers making distinct scratches. . . . The points about the periphery, where the rays of the star were to terminate in bosses, were then marked out and the arms themselves indicated. When a good pattern was available, the procedure was somewhat different. Instead of laboriously drawing circles with pincers, and outlining other features free hand, the pattern was laid directly upon the blank, and its outline followed and marked into the silver with an awl or other pointed instrument. The next process was to make the bosses. This was done by laying the edges of the blank over the smallest hole on the

[8] In reading the passage, reference to 6-G and 10-A may be illuminating. These are silversmithing tools collected from the Menominee in 1910. The passage is from **Harrington, 1908a**, pp. 363-4.

die-plate, and forcing the metal into it with an appropriate stamp. . . . The lines made in laying out the brooch were then followed with curved and straight chisels, and the surplus metal cut away. . . . The next step was to smooth and trim the edges with a file, then to decorate the surface of the brooch. The so-called engraving was done more by stamping than by cutting, although no regular form of stamp was used. The straight chisel, lightly tapped, made a fairly long straight line. Round and triangular dots were formed by implements whose points had been filed into shape for the purpose. Curved lines and ovals were made by combining the imprints of curved-edge chisels; while short straight lines were the imprints of the chisel-like gravers. Two or more such graver strokes made crosses. The important use of the gravers, however, lay in making the zigzag lines, frequently of extreme delicacy and fineness, which formed some of the most striking and artistic patterns found on the Iroquois ornaments. In this case the graver is not struck with the hammer, but is pressed firmly against the silver, and pushed forward with a strutting motion; the hand holding the graver moving from side to side the whole. . .

"When the brooch had been engraved, the next step was to perforate (with an awl) a small hole near the edge of the central opening to receive the hinge-end of the tongue. To make the tongue, a slender strip or wire was cut with the straight chisel from a large piece of silver . . . and this was filed and bent into proper shape, and put into place. The brooch was then completed."

The importance of casting in native silverwork, as represented by the Iroquois craft, was apparently less than that of simple forging or beating. Harrington describes molds, composed of hardwood blocks some five inches square, which permitted the casting of silver ingots an inch long and one-quarter inch in thickness. The small ingots thus produced were in turn hammered into ornaments in the same manner as silver coins. Molds for the casting of complete ornaments are not reported by Harrington, but from several other sources come

relevant reports of unusual specimens. Quimby has noted "a stone mold for making lead crosses . . . of the single-barred type with crenulated edges."[9] This mold is from the site of Fort St. Joseph (near Niles, Cass County, Michigan), a fort variously manned by the French, British and Spanish between about 1700 and 1781. To what use such a mold might have been put Quimby does not conjecture, but certainly crosses of the two simple types in 10-H could have been so fashioned.

A similar find reported from Minnesota is even more intriguing.[10] It is composed of fine catlinite (pipestone), about four by six inches, that was excavated in the course of construction operation in St. Paul in 1857. Upon each face appear a number of shallow molds—nine in total—including a small turtle, a simple double-barred cross, a small ornate single-barred cross, one small and one large perfectly circular, partitioned hair plate-like forms—and one double-heart lyre-type brooch form, and three single-heart types! The whole assortment of course smacks of Iroquois patterns, and how Minnesota came by them can only be guessed. A few facts can be deduced, of course. Obviously the material of which the mold is made would best withstand the casting of metals with melting temperatures about those of lead, pewter, and similar tin alloys, perhaps zinc, but probably not silver, German silver or iron.[11] Further, heart designs have been noted as generally belonging to the post-1760 period, and hence the use of this mold occurred sometime between then and the middle of the 19th century, when it was recovered. Allowing for the lapse of time after the introduction of heart brooches sufficient to demand the making of crude molds of this sort (proposing its use by an early frontier trader), and also deducting a number of years for the time it must have lain undiscovered beneath the streets of St. Paul (thus allowing for its possible utilization by an Indian smith), the date probably may be

9 **Quimby, 1939,** p. 28.
10 **G. Hubert Smith, 1948.**
11 Lead melts at 621° F., tin at 450°, and zinc at 786° F. The melt-point of pewter varies with the proportion of lead to tin, and that of German silver varies with the proportions of copper, nickle and zinc. The melting point of iron varies with its purity, but it is above 2000° F.

narrowed down to twenty-five years either side of 1800. [12]

Beauchamp's paper on New York materials contains illustrations of seven "small images", of iron, pewter and lead, crudely molded in the forms of birds, animals, and humans. Of these the author states:

> "It is probable such figures were at one time abundant, but when finer ornaments appeared, these were melted for bullets. These rude forms were easily designed and cast, and may be considered purely Indian work, possibly even that of children." [13]

Of the iron piece, a turtle, Beauchamp says: "The casting of iron was beyond the Indian skill, but why a white man should have made so rude a figure, it is not easy to say." [14] Apparrently all of these artifacts were surface finds. Elsewhere Beauchamp describes a mold from the Mohawk Valley:

> ". . . a stone mold for casting lead or pewter ornaments. It is a flat piece of stone in which three circles have been neatly cut, each with several deeper depressions, to form bosses on the rings. The diameter is about that of a common cent, and there are sloping grooves to carry off the superfluous metal, or to run the metal into the mold, that being covered." [15]

Altogether it is to be inferred that the casting of complete ornaments in silver was not common, if indeed it was ever practiced.

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[12] The lead mines of the upper Mississippi valley, especially near Prairie du Chien, were exploited as early as the time of Nicholas Perrot, and many of the Indians preferred mining to trapping during the fur-trade era. Perhaps such molds as these were employed to utilize the metal at its source. Perhaps some early traders cast into ornaments the lead brought to their stores by natives. Another possibility is that the molds were used for the production of rough master-patterns, in base metal, to serve as guides in the fashioning of silver jewelry. The use of such patterns is noted among the Iroquois, where they were made from tin, zinc, etc.

[13] **Beauchamp, 1903,** p. 26.

[14] **Beauchamp, 1903,** p. 26. Again it is to be noted that Beauchamp does not distinguish any articles of German silver and may possibly be labeling as pewter specimens of the former material. As has also been pointed out, he does not emphasize the difference between trade objects and those of native manufacture.

[15] **Beauchamp, 1903,** p. 14.

The role of German silver in Iroquois smithing merits discussion, but few sources provide more than general evidence on this point. German silver is a silver-white alloy of copper, nickel and zinc, which is harder than silver and takes a high polish. A good alloy is fifty-nine part copper, nineteen parts nickel and twenty-two parts zinc. This alloy is popular, especially in England, under the name nickel-silver. Probably the best alloy is twenty-three parts copper to seventeen of nickel and ten of zinc, but the high nickel content made this infeasible for either Indian trade ornaments or native use. Most Indian German silver probably contains more zinc than these formulas and suffers in luster thereby, often being indistinguishable from poorer varieties of white brass (copper and zinc), pewter (lead and tin or antimony) and inferior silver alloys. Chemical tests based upon differential reaction rates to reagents of silver and German silver facilitate distinguishing between the two. (Such tests were not used in conjunction with examination of the specimens in the present study, however, and in uncertain instances museum catalogue identifications were accepted.)

The name, German silver, originates from Hildburghausen, Germany, where it was made in the early 19th century. (Actually it had been made in China for centuries under the name of "white copper." Some authorities would derive the name from the fact that the material is "germane" to silver.) That it came into general use only after 1830 is helpful in placing artifacts made from German silver, but how it was supplied to the Iroquois and by whom is uncertain. In view of their meagre equipment, that the Iroquois ever compounded it themselves is improbable, and it is far more likely that it was obtained from traders in sheets. In the 1860's James Mooney reported that such "flat metal," obtained from traders, was enjoying great popularity among the Kiowa and other Plains tribes, and Woodward asserts that it had become popular in the West soon after its introduction in this hemisphere. [16]

To typical Iroquois ornamental patterns some reference has been made in the last chapter. To this may be added Harring-

[16] **Mooney, 1898,** p. 318; **Woodward, 1946,** p. 7.

ton's comments that, at the beginning of this century, brooches of various sorts were the most numerous ornaments among the Iroquois, with earrings second. The same author observed that the prevalent types of bracelets and armlets were thin, fluted, and perforated at the ends for the attachment of a cord, and also that headbands were still in use ceremonially. Additionally, life-forms were conspicuously rare, and symbolism was employed but little, according to Parker. How far back in time such broad characterizations may be projected is certain only to the extent that datable 19th century specimens may be obtained, and recovery of these is much less frequent than recovery of dateless surface finds and pothunters' trophies There is, however, another approach which will illuminate the nature of early 19th century Iroquois silver patterns, and which will, more to the point, bear upon silversmithing among the Wisconsin Indians. The matter concerns the Oneida, who, along with the Stockbridge and Brothertown, traveled to Wisconsin in the the early 19th century.

The Oneida, Stockbridge and Brothertown

By the Revolutionary period, the powerful Iroquois League which had already formed on Champlain's arrival, and had for over a century and a half engaged in slaughter of the French and subjugation of neighboring tribes, was upon the brink of collapse. The Oneida, always one of the less important tribes of the League (perhaps because of small membership), was the first to fall away. When the Revolution came, the Oneida wished to remain neutral, while the Seneca, Mohawk, Onondaga and Cayuga entered the war on the side of the British. The Oneida could not avoid involvement, however, and eventually joined the hostilities, but on the side of the Americans. For their cooperation the Oneida were rewarded but little, being given a parcel of land situated in central New York and ill-suited to their use. By this time the League had disintegrated completely, numerous bands scattering to the northern shores of Lake Ontario. The first group of Oneida to leave the original League territory settled on the Thames River in Ontario about this time, while the majority of the tribe remained in New York State. In 1816,

Eleazer Williams, a young Episcopal minister, settled among the tribesmen and proved a critical influence upon their future. Although eastern land companies looked covetously upon the Oneida lands, it was more probably Williams' romantic "dreams of a western empire for the Iroquois," as Dr. Robert E. Ritzenthaler puts it, [17] that led his to enter negotiation with the Menominee and Winnebago in the hope of securing lands in the vicinity of Green Bay. The negotiations were successful, a treaty was consummated granting the easterners considerable acreage along the Fox River at Little Chute, and a large delegation of Oneida arrived in 1822. Further treaty arrangements resulted in the departure of the Winnebago and the settling of the Oneida with the Menominee. Within the two years following about three hundred Stockbridge and Oneida arrived, the latter settling about eight miles from Green Bay where they may be presently found. There in 1825 and 1827 they were joined by the last large Oneida contingents with whom arrived lesser numbers of Brothertown, Stockbridge, and perhaps Munsee.

Once ensconced in their Wisconsin home, the Oneida, Stockbridge and Brothertown resumed their old ways of life with little immediate alteration. The concern for the wanderings of these tribes of course relates to the intimate association they came to have with the Menominee. Of the native tribes of Wisconsin, the Menominee were the only peoples to develop an important silvercraft, and the answer to the origin of that craft among them may well lie in their interaction with the immigrant easterners. At least this is the opinion of many authorities.

The silverwork of the Wisconsin Oneida is expectedly similar to that of the Iroquois who remained in New York and Ontario, since the industry had been practiced at least several decades before the Oneida departed. Examples of Wisconsin Oneida jewelry in 5-G, 7-C and 7-E will be found to resemble quite closely the work of the Ontario Oneida (4-I, 4-J, 5-F), and both in turn will be found to identify with general New York Iroquois patterns (4-E, 4-G, 4-H, 5-A, 5-C through 5-E,

[17] **Ritzenthaler, 1950,** p. 11.

and 6-B). Though not so well indicated by the accompanying illustrations as might be desired, the masonic, star, and single- and double-heart brooches are entirely typical of Wisconsin Oneida work. Additional New York parallels are notable in pendant and ornate earrings, and the several types of head-bands, hair plates, and bracelets. Aside from the patterns themselves, the delicate quality of the workmanship in general, and the fine symmetrical perforation work of the large circular brooches in particular are striking parallels. [18] These common characteristics of Wisconsin Oneida and eastern Iroquois work will be seen to contrast markedly in both form and nature with the bulk of Menominee products.

Menominee Silverwork

In a display of miscellaneous Menominee equipment at the Milwaukee Public Museum the following label may be observed:

> "The art of silversmithing was introduced to Wisconsin by the Stockbridge Indians who came from the Atlantic Coast, where the art had been known from the period of early white contact. A few of the Menomini took to this work and became expert workmen. . . . Many of their silver ornaments, however, continued to be obtained through exchange with white traders."

Similar assertions can be noted elsewhere, [19] but in all cases they rest less upon historical knowledge than, as Baerreis puts it, upon the realization that "The general similarity between the Wisconsin silverwork and that of New York indicates clearly that some common factor must be present . . ." [20] At least one anthropologist is inclined to a different view, however. After citing a passage in which the origin of Menominee silversmithing is attributed to an introduction by New York tribes, Felix M. Keesing writes:

> "Just where this information was obtained is not known

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[18] The fine collection of Wisconsin Oneida specimens in possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin has been mentioned. Representative pieces from this collection are illustrated by Dr. Baerreis in his 1950 paper.

[19] E. g., **Densmore, 1932,** p. 9.

[20] **Baerreis, 1950,** p. 82.

> to the writer; from inquiries among the Menomini, however, it would seem that the craft of working silver was introduced among the tribe at least in part through Ottawa sources in times considerably earlier than this Iroquois movement. Unfortunately it can hardly be known to what extent the craft, and also the patterns of the artifacts produced may have been based upon a truly aboriginal craft such as copper working. A critic might answer any hasty advocacy of the latter by surmising that any extensive working of copper among the lakes tribes was also a product of white stimulation.'' [21]

To what group of Ottawas Keesing may refer is left undisclosed by him, but Quimby has stated the opinion that Indian silversmithing in Michigan was of little consequence, and there the prominent Ottawas of the time were to be found. Additionally, Keesing ignores the similarities existing between Menominee and Iroquois silver, which, whether or not they be ''general,'' can be better explained or reconciled in the light of one or more of the following views: (1) Menominee silversmithing may indeed be completely beholden to the Oneida (or Stockbridge) for its introduction, its tools, its techniques and its patterns; (2) while the original savoir faire of silverworking may have been imparted to the Menominee by the Oneida (or Stockbridge), further similarities existing between the silver of these tribes may be explained by common influences from trade types; (3) the similarities may be spurious in that they may not be parallels in native work at all.

Considering first the last-mentioned possibility, it has been noted that many of the silver ornaments received by the Indians in the fur-trade period bore no identifying marks. Dated occurrences of these pieces from times when native silversmithing incontestably did not exist confirms this fact. Yet when such objects come to light apart from some datable context, generally speaking it is impossible to pronounce them

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[21] **Keesing, 1939,** pp. 116-7. It is noteworthy that Keesing is not disinclined, however, to credit an Oneida-Iroquois origin for other Menominee items — weaving techniques and equipment, for example.

white products rather than Indian. There is nothing particularly primitive about Indian silver work, even the earliest of it. If one were to examine the accompanying illustrations in search of an artifact whose crudeness suggested native workmanship, 10-H, lower left, would be a likely choice. Yet this article bears a touch mark, doubtless that of a Canadian smith. On the other hand, many of the pictured specimens which are unquestionably Indian work are perfect in symmetry and flawless in execution. The problem being pointed out is that neither did the Indians touch-mark their manufactures,[22] and with very incomplete knowledge of 19th century trade goods being available, of the ornaments possessed by the Iroquois or Menominee it is not possible to state that many were not made by the white man. To a great extent this could include the items upon the basis of which a close association between the two tribes has been suspected. That brooches, bracelets and other silver paraphernalia bear "primitive" surface decor is an inadequate criterion of Indian work, for the natives must have thus enhanced the traders' products in many cases. The gorgets in 3-A, for example, is the product of a white silversmith; its design (a rouletted heart) may not be. Similarly, likenesses of fish and birds often will be noted upon various specimens of Canadian silver (e. g., 4-C, a Cruickshank product with fish motif), but it is not inconceivable that frequently these are native modification. The alteration of white ornaments by the Indians may go beyond simple engraving, rouletting and stamping, as is suggested by the specimens in 3-E. Of these eight large brooches, six bear the "MONTREAL" mark, and all are probably Canadian products. Yet in each instance where the mark appears it is incomplete (see 1-M), seeming to have been disfigured by later application of the perforations. Reason does not support the argument that the marks were originally thus applied, since a turn of the stamp could have impressed the whole name.

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[22] The exceptions to this statement are negligible. One, however, is Sequoyah, the celebrated Cherokee silversmith of the early 19th century, who is reported to have stamped his products "George Guess" (or "Gist" or "Guest"). (See **McKenney and Hall, 1854,** vol. I, p. 65.)

Altogether then, demonstration of the genuineness of much Indian jewelry, unless it be hot from the anvil, is exceptionally difficult. For the present purpose this indicates that Menominee-Iroquois parallels may be in part the result of a superficial veneer of trade articles giving specimen collections from both tribes a convincing similarity. But such reasoning cannot be accepted as an all-inclusive explanation, first as it is not reasonable, second since it fails to shed light on the origin of the Menominee craft, and last, because the Menominee have been observed in the manufacture of ornaments "of types similar to those in use by the Iroquois and other eastern tribes . . ." [23]

Turning to the possibility that styles and patterns, as well as knowledge of silversmithing, were borrowed by the Menominee from the Oneida or Stockbridge, a comparison of the specimens is the most revealing procedure. The characteristic Menominee ornaments are German silver buttons and brooches (5-H through 5-J, 6-A, 9-F), bracelets (7-G through 7-J, 8-A through 8-E), and a unique earring type (10-G). It will be obvious that these article differ appreciably from those typical of either the Wisconsin Oneida or the New York Iroquois. Menominee brooches are massive and display none of the delicate workmanship so conspicuous in Iroquois types. Additionally, the variety of button forms found among the Menominee ornaments is lacking in Iroquois material, and the earring type, and to a lesser extent the German silver comb and flat unfluted German silver bracelet, are characteristically confined to the Menominee. On the other hand, there is in Menominee material but small incidence of heart and masonic motifs, traditionally Iroquois favorites. Though the star motif is not uncommon in Menominee articles, it seldom takes the many-pointed brooch form popular among the eastern tribes, but is more likely to be five-pointed and used in surface design or as a cut-out pattern on circular brooches or on the typical Menominee earrings.

In short, though parallels exist between Menominee silver and that of the eastern Iroquois and Wisconsin Oneida, they

[23] **Skinner, 1921a,** p. 281.

are not thorough-going parallels and do not bespeak a great dependance of the former upon the latter. Some of the parallels are doubtless explicable upon the basis of common influence from prevalent trade goods. Others are no doubt the result of diffusion; and it is not the present purpose to eliminate this aspect altogether. And again, some of the similar specimens collected from the Indians in both East and West may not be of their own making.

If it be posited that Oneida influence was responsible for the origin of both Menominee silversmithing and its styles, perhaps sometime after 1830, then by the late 1880's Menominee work had still departed from that of the Oneida.[24] The characteristic buttons, brooches, earrings, etc., were already well established Menominee patterns, and typical Oneida-Iroquois motifs had little place in the ornamental designs. The major differences between the two are thus not of recent date. This narrows the focus of interest to something like the fifty years following 1830, during which major differentiation of Menominee and Oneida work must have taken place, if indeed it did at all. In this purported differentiation the Wisconsin Oneida could not have participated, for in the 1880's their work was of the ilk of their New York days more than a half-century before; their styles and techniques were characterized by notable conservatism. The picture thus defined leaves the Menominee somewhere in the mid-19th century with an emerging silvercraft quite unlike the Oneida's, and for an earlier, more Oneida-like Menominee silver industry there is no sound evidence in artifacts or otherwise.

To sum up what has been explored, it is not an over-emphasis to state that Menominee and Oneida work have fundamental and significant differences and that these differences are pronounced at least as far back as the 1880's. Whereas differences between Menominee silver patterns and those of the New York tribes might be assigned to regional differences in

[24] This could be demonstrated by comparison of Menominee and Oneida silver in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The articles are from the C. E. Kelsey collection, gathered from among these tribes in the years 1887-95. Such a comparison is discussed in **Baerreis, 1950.**

available trade silver, this cannot be the case between the Wisconsin Oneida and the Menominee, for the latter two dwelt in intimate proximity from the early 19th century onward, and in this situation the Oneida styles underwent little change from Iroquoian prototypes. Nor is the proposition that much alleged native metalwork may in reality be un-touch-marked trade goods of much relevance here, for the dissimilarity of Menominee and Oneida specimens, since the two tribes were palpably exposed to the same trade articles, merely argues for greater independence of the native Menominee craft. In short, Menominee silverwork cannot but be primarily Menominee-made; it is not made after the fashion of the Iroquois nor of the Wisconsin Oneida nor of the white trade items. Nor would the admixture of all three yield a Menominee-like product. The point has arrived where the Menominee should be given credit, for credit is due them: whatever its origin, the uniqueness of their silversmithing cannot but be due to their own ingenuity, creative ability and artfulness.

That the evidence favors native originality as an explanation for the particular flavor of Menominee silver does not, of course, preclude the likelihood of their having become acquainted with the essential techniques through the presence of Oneida smiths. On the contrary, there is material as well as historical evidence in favor of this conclusion.

Perhaps most impressive are the technical parallels. As reported for the Iroquois by Harrington and Morgan, so also the Menominee appear to have made great use of silver coins in their silver production. "Where the Menomini received money, such as the silver coins distributed by the British at Mackinac and the 'French crowns and Spanish cobs,' he was likely as not to use them for the manufacture of ornaments," Keesing relates. Another Menominee use of silver coins, perforated for stringing, was noted by Skinner in 1920 (cf. 7-D), while Beauchamp reports the same practice for the Iroquois. [25] Rather revealing is Skinner's description of Menominee smithing equipment; the similarity of these implements to those in

[25] **Keesing, 1939,** p. 107. **Skinner, 1921a. Beauchamp, 1903.**

Harrington's comments is obvious:

> "The tools used by Menomini silversmiths are obviously derived from those kept on hand by early traders as a part of their stock in trade, and consist of small commercial or smithy-made punches, hammers, and dies of metal, with a little iron anvil. Some of those tools have been improvised from old files and rasps." [26]

The silversmith's tools illustrated in 10-A and 6-G were collected in 1910 by Dr. S. A. Barrett from a Menominee smith named George Nikanis. According to the records of the Milwaukee Public Museum, the set also included buckskin polishers, a compass, tweezers, and various other improvised gauges, punches and dies. The articles pictured were unquestionably acquired by the Menominee from the white man; the dividers bear the stamp of a Connecticut manufacturer, the converted files bear similar labels, the wooden handles are lathe-turned, and so on.

A curious thing in Menominee metalwork is that old ornaments, even those not worn or defaced, were often cut up for the manufacture of new, and many Menominee specimens reveal this practice (e. g., 9-G and 10-F). Perhaps the older styles were passe. 10-F also reveals the proficiency of Menominee soldering, which in most cases was quite as good as that in Iroquois work. (Among the Iroquois, soldering was employed for attachment of ring faces, earring adornments, etc. See 2-G and 7-F.)

Concerning the ways in which the Menominee silversmith's tools were manipulated, much can be learned from examination of specimens, and such examination again reveals a number of technical practices reminiscent of both Wisconsin Oneida and Iroquois metalwork. The common points include "engraved" rocker-impressions or "zigzags" (as Harrington described them on Iroquois work), made by the "strutting" motion of a chisel (again Harrington's word). Rouletting was in most cases probably applied with a toothed-wheel device, since most of the rouletted patterns are too even to have been executed by individual free-hand stamps. At any rate, rock-

[26] **Skinner, 1921a**, p. 282.

ering and rouletting are common to the metalwork of both tribes being discussed (cf. 7-H, 8-B, 8-D and 8-E with 4-E through 4-H, 4-J, 5-G and 6-B).

The use of perforations is another common feature, but by contrast with Menominee work, that of the Iroquois seems to employ them to produce "negative" effects. That is, the first impression gained from casual inspection of many of the Iroquois brooches is one of the outline rather than substance. This is seldom true of Menominee brooches, in which the perforations are invariably smaller in size and fewer in number in proportion to the surface of the object. This gives the impression of unrelieved mass; the perforations are in most cases insufficient to balance the surface area, and by current artistic standards of Western culture these would undoubtably be labeled miserable compositions. Subtle as it may be, this difference, because it is a consistent difference, is probably as valid an indicator of the absent cultural affiliation between the two brooch types as all the other propositions which might be advanced: it reveals two entirely disparate artistic traditions. The Iroquois brooches are sophisticated, tasteful and dignified; the Menominee are bold, buccolic and utilitarian. The adjectives may be poorly chosen, but the differences are undeniable.

A last major difference in technique relates to repousse work, which is notably scarce in the Menominee craft. On Iroquois pieces it is not uncommon to find the peripheries embellished with small raised nodes (4-E through 4-H, 4-J, 5-A, 5-G, 6-B), while in Menominee work raised areas sometimes surround the center holes of brooches (5-I and 5-J) but seldom elsewhere appear. Such repousse work as is apparent on the bracelet in 8-D contrasts conspicuously with the other Menominee bracelets represented (7-G through 7-J, 8-A through 8-E). Additionally, the edges of Menominee ornaments seldom receive the crenulation, foliation, scalloping, etc., characteristic of many Iroquois objects.

Wisconsin silver is mostly a thing of the past of course. Alanson Skinner stated that the "last surviving Menominee

silversmith of the writer's acquaintance is Teko Whitefish, who was actively plying his trade in the early summer of 1920." [27] However, Skinner likewise reported, in the same year, that brooches, "huge back combs," bracelets and armbands of silver and German silver, "cunningly wrought by native smiths," were still very much in use by the men and women alike. From about the same time came the interesting arm and leg bands of sheet tin pictured in 10-I and 10-J, collected from the Menominee for the Oshkosh Public Museum in the 1920's, according to Mr. James E. Lunsted, Curator of Anthropology at that institution. A situation similar to that described by Skinner presently exists among the Oneida. Writing in 1950, Robert Ritzenthaler mentions that "articles, non-functional in the present culture but existing as relics, include silver brooches. [28] Dr. Ritzenthaler also has advised the writer that simple rings, presumably of native manufacture, are available from the Menominee at the present time.

To recapitulate in brief, investigation of the silverwork of the Wisconsin Indians, for all practical purposes represented by Menominee work alone, inescapably involves reference to the craft as it arose among the New York Iroquois about 1800. While the probable dependence of the Menominee upon the Iroquois (via the Oneida) in their acquisition of silversmithing techniques must be readily acknowledged, the allegation of large scale borrowing of patterns and motifs is less compelling. Although uncertainty regarding trade materials versus native products complicates the problem, the preponderance of evidence—in the writer's view—favors native inspiration as an underlying explanation of the long-standing uniqueness of most Menominee work.

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[27] **Skinner, 1921a,** p. 282.
[28] **Ritzenthaler, 1950,** p. 26.

CHAPTER VI

TRADE SILVER IN THE PUTNAM COLLECTION OF THE DAVENPORT PUBLIC MUSEUM

In the foregoing chapters the extent of accumulated knowledge in regard to metallic Indian trade ornaments has been given exposition; the utility of touch marks in chronological placement of specimens, and the value of typological seriation of ornamental forms have been outlined. It may now be of value to observe a practical application of this knowledge.

The Putnam Collection

Illustrated in 2-A through 2-D, 2-H through 2-K, 3-A through 3-J, 4-A through 4-D, 9-A, 9-E and 10-H is a major portion of a splendid collection of specimens presented by E. D. and W. C. Putnam to the Davenport Public Museum, Davenport, Iowa, in October, 1900.[1] The Putnams had, in the same year, purchased the articles from a Mr. A. J. Atkinson of Harbor Springs, Michigan. Atkinson in turn had recovered the items from a "mound" in Emmet County, traditionally a locale rich in native relics. The only available information relating to the finding of the specimens comes from an account published in a Petoskey, Michigan newspaper, and as this also appears to be the only published information on the collection, it is edifying to note it in its entirety. The article is entitled "Across the Bay—Remarkable Find of Indian Relics Attract Attention," and has the date line of Harbor Springs, Friday, July 27, 1900.

> "Those who love to spend their hours in wandering about the bazars will be greatly interested in a collection of genuine Indian relics and curios now in possession of A. J. Atkinson of Harbor Springs. Late in the fall he was on a hunting trip at a place a little northwest of here called Indian Garden. Chanceing to see a rusty gun barrel protruding from the ground, he pulled it out and found

[1] An accession notice and summary description of the collection appear in **Davenport Academy of Sciences, 1900.**

that it belonged to an old flint lock rifle of the revolutionary period.

"Further investigation showed that he had come upon an old Indian grave which contained besides the skeleton of a man, a number of old kettles and all of the honorary decorations of a chieftain. The skull was found surrounded by a silver band. Among other things was a small silver turtle which was the standard of the Ottawa chief, Little Turtle, who was the hero of the battle between the Ottawas and the Mushquatas which resulted in the extermination of the latter tribe.

"Among the numerous interesting things found in the grave were some coins used by the Astor Fur Company in their barter with the Indians. These are of various sizes each having engraved upon it the animal for which it was equivalent, as a bear or deer.

"These coins are perforated so as to permit them to be hung like beads on a string. There are silver crosses of the Jesuit missionaries, having one, two and three bars, silver earrings, bits of wampum, used as currency among the Indians, arrowheads, the desiccated fingerbones of an Indian Princess which still are encircled by silver rings, perhaps the gift of an Indian lover, and silver medals on which are engraved the outlines of a wolf which was the totem of the Ottawas. Several brass, copper and iron closed kettles were found, one of which contained a peculiar vegetable pigment, the composition of which is not known to modern science. This was probably used as war paint. In one of the kettles there was a curious stone of rare beauty. This was the rosseta stone of the tribe and was held to be sacred.

"Mr. Atkinson found in another kettle a fossil bearing ing strange marks which may be the hieroglyphic inscriptions of a prehistoric race. It has been suggested that this region was once the home of the mound builders.

"He also found the skull of a bear near Five Mile Creek, in the frontal bone of which was imbedded a steel arrowhead. This is immensely interesting since we cannot help wondering how the Indians came to have such a

steel weapon in their possession. Mr. Atkinson is arranging his collection for exhibition in the photographic gallery over Bleazy Brothers' bazaar.'' [2]

There are several factors which complicate interpretations of these finds, however, for the collection originally purchased for the museum has been partially broken up, and such items as trade pipes, known to have been included in the original discovery, have since strayed. These might have provided more specific dating details than the material remaining. Additionally, there is reason to believe that some of the articles presumed to be included in the find described in the foregoing article were actually gathered by Atkinson in 1897, though also in Emmet County, Michigan. Nevertheless, the collection as currently displayed at the Museum contains the larger proportion of articles mentioned and that these are all from the same site is verified by early photographs of the collection, presumably as it was displayed ''over Bleazy Brothers' bazaar,'' bearing in Atkinson's hand an itemization of the articles of the original discovery. However, the original labels also disclose the presence in the ''mound'' of a ''medicine man,'' or at least his jaw (the present collection includes on add mandible). Other interesting notes not mentioned in the article, but revealed by the original labels and photographs, are that the ''chief's'' skull was originally wrapped in birch bark, and that there were traces of a ''bark coffin'' with the burial. Additional specimens apparently included a mirror, a comb, bottles, and a ''silver toy watch and chain.'' There is no further information on these last objects, and they are no longer parts of the collection. A telescope and razor, presently grouped with the collection, were supposed ''to have been taken from the English at the Makinac massacre,'' according to the author of the original labels. The ''garments'' accompanying the burial of the ''Princess'' are said once to

[2] A typed transcript of this article was kindly supplied the writer by the Davenport Public Museum and the same is here reproduced without alteration. The Museum also furnished original labels, photographs and much other helpful information for which the writer is grateful.

have been more ample than the sample shreds in 3-H, as well they must have been.

In addition to the foregoing articles, a great amount of silverwork was recovered from this burial or burials. Original reports state that over 2,000 buckles were on the "garment" of the "Princess" alone. Whatever the original number, the collection presently includes over two hundred simple brooches of the types in 3-H through 3-J, and upwards of fifty of the varieties in 3-E, 3-F, 4-A and 10-H. The majority of the bracelets and circular gorgets are illustrated, others not photographed aggregating perhaps a dozen in each case, mostly fragmentary. Of the remaining illustrated items—crosses, the crescent gorget, hair plates, and headbands—most represent the only examples of each kind in the collection. All of the metal objects purportedly came from the same site. [3]

Discussion

The skull was labeled by the discoverer "Skull of Chief Little Turtle (Ottawa Indian) who reigned 150 years ago" (i. e., about 1750, reckoning from the date of Atkinson's writing). Inasmuch as Robert Cruickshank was then an adolescent English lad, and Charles Arnoldi was to begin silversmithing only several decades later, this is remarkable, for much of the silverwork in "Little Turtle's" grave was made by these individuals. Atkinson obviously commercialized his trophies as much as public credulity would allow.

The "small silver turtle which was the standard of the Ottawa Chief" patently is no turtle at all, but a not uncommon ornament called a spoon-locket, the appropriateness of the name being obvious when the object is viewed in open position (3-G). Lockets of this type have been recovered elsewhere in Michigan and are discussed and illustrated by Dr. Quimby. Only in the most general way do these lockets resemble turtles, though assuredly thinking could make them so. In any event,

[3] The "Prince and Princess Burial" suggestion is probably more romantic than factual. Labels referring to the "Medicine Man" "found in the same mound" suggest that there were probably several adjoining, and perhaps unrelated, burials, all perhaps intrusive in a mound of more ancient date.

if by "Little Turtle" Atkinson referred to Mickikiniqua, the most notorious "Little Turtle," who incidentally was only distantly of Ottawa descent, then the fact that that individual was buried at Fort Wayne requires clarification. Altogether, the "Little Turtle" myth clouds the issue, and, if intentions be scientific, it is as well discarded along with the rosseta stone, the hieroglyphs, the royal titles and pigments unknown to modern science. It is upon the basis of associated silverwork that the significance of the finds is most likely to be accurately assessed, as has been so clearly demonstrated in the analysis of other Michigan Indian burials in a paper by Dr. Quimby.[4]

The touch-marked pieces number over two score, and these marks, already discussed in Chapter III, include "MONTREAL" (various forms), "RC," "CA," "PH," "S," "M," "JM," "T," "BP," "A&JS," and "NEW YORK" (Plate 1). The ratio of these marks one to another is noteworthy. "MONTREAL" occurs upon approximately one-half of the marked objects, while of the smiths' initials, Robert Cruickshank's are overwhelmingly the most frequent, remaining smiths being represented by one, or at the most, several pieces each. "A&JS" appears upon two circular gorgets; on one of these an engraved beaver (as in 3-C) and "NEW YORK" are present. The same "NEW YORK" mark occurs independently, however, on the circular gorget in 3-B, which bears the finely executed deer (3-D), while identical beavers are present on other objects. Nevertheless, even inferring that all these articles are attributable to "A&JS," and are hence of American manufacture, the proportion of non-Canadian touch marks is small, and in essence the distribution of marks duplicates the findings of Quimby in his study of Michigan trade silver.

Though of course Atkinson's assertion that the burial dated from the mid-18th century could be upset merely by present knowledge that ornamental trade silver was scarcely so abundant by that date, a telling point arises from consideration of touch mark chronology. Obviously the earliest possible date at which this individual and his trappings could have been

[4] **Quimby, 1938.**

interred will be delimited by the earliest working date of the latest smith whose manufactures accompany the interment. Cruickshank, Arnoldi and Latour commenced production of trade silver about 1780, and it is improbable that a more precise date designation can be assigned to this burial than "after 1780," although the jewelry types are such as were most popular between that date and about the first quarter of the 19th century. On the other hand, the apparent absence of any traces of native manufacture, the possibility of secondary alteration excepted, plus the complete lack of heart and masonic brooches, argues for placement not long after the date mentioned. Canadian-American competition at this period probably would explain the possession by the Indians of objects made by smiths in both countries, while the lavishness of the British in Indian patronage might account for the weighted ratio of Canadian touch marks in the collection. Which of these objects may have been traders' stores and which diplomatic presents cannot be said, but the large proportion of gorgets may recommend the latter. The gorgets, however, are mostly circular, and rather than bearing motifs calculated to inspire patriotism and to convey prestige they mainly feature beavers, deer and several unidentifiable carnivores. The significance of these animal likenesses should not be minimized, however, in view of inadequate knowledge concerning them.

Although an early date seems best to satisfy the silver evidence, to be sufficiently cautious it should be noted that the remaining touch marks, though they be inconclusively identified, could recommend a later date. It "A&JS" is in fact the mark of Abraham and James Simmons, this brings the earliest possible date of burial into the 1800's, while Quimby's sometime identification of "PH" as Henri Polonceau, if valid, would place the time no earlier than about the first decade of that century.

A Museum case label accompanying the collection reads: "The burial was later than 1810, as the silver pieces were 'money' used by the Astor Fur Company." Whence this information was derived the writer was unable to discover. It seems likely, however, that it may be attributed to Atkinson

and that it was based on the fact that just before 1810 "Astor, Fur Trader," was reorganized as the "American Fur Company" (i.e., Astor's fur company, and not Astor Fur Company).[5] Aside from Atkinson's assertion, there seems to be no evidence pertaining to the source of the silver in this collection, and it is doubtful that Atkinson's opinion was based upon examination of company records and other documents. However this may be, reconciliation of this date with Atkinson's estimate (above) of 1750 remains a problem.

In view of the manifold uncertainties regarding the site, its occupants and excavation, and the disposition of many of the recovered articles, not a great deal more can be confidently asserted. The usefulness of trade silver in both chronological placement and historical inference has, however, been somewhat exemplified, and the very great potential utility of better defined touch mark sequences and more fully known regional and temporal variations in trade silver should be evident.

CHAPTER VII

TRADE AND NATIVE SILVERWORK IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE PUBLIC MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF MILWAUKEE

The specimens shown in 2-E through 2-G, 4-E through 4-J, 5-A through 5-J, 6-A through 6-G, 7-A through 7-J, 8-A through 8-J, 9-C, 9-D, 9-F through 9-H, and 10-A through 10-G have for the most part been introduced heretofore, and therefore require little further amplification. All of the articles in those illustrations were selected from the excellent collections of American Indian material in the possession of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

The specimens may be divided into several major categories, primarily upon the basis of provenience. A large number are of Iroquois origin, and of these many were collected for the

[5] See **A. D. H. Smith, 1929, pp. 13ff.**

Museum by S. A. Barrett in western New York State in 1918.[1] From which "Iroquois" reservations these articles were obtained is not certain, but it seems likely that the Seneca, Cayuga and Onondaga, large portions of which tribes were present in western New York at that date, must be well represented. The specimens of this origin include those in 2-G, 4-E, 4-H, 4-I, 5-A, 5-C through 5-E, 6-B, and 7-F. Without observable exception they are of German silver and bear no touch marks. Which may be the products of native smiths and which white trade goods is thus difficult to determine, in view of the unsatisfactory knowledge of late 19th and early 20th century trade materials. Nevertheless, since it is highly unlikely that the entire body of objects is either all trade material or all native craft, the fact that origins cannot be distinguished is, in itself, revealing. That is, it suggests that the ornament styles of the native industry were closely patterned after white trade goods, or that traders endeavored to supply patterns conforming to specific Indian desires, or both.

A later expedition by Barrett, to southern Ontario in 1925, resulted in the acquisition of the Iroquois pieces in 4-F and 5-B. Of these the entry records say "Silver brooches fashioned by Indian silversmiths," and it is certainly not unlikely that these, or similar pieces, were of this origin, though identification of the author of the comments is uncertain. The precise source of the articles in 4-G (see also 6-C) is indefinite, but there seems little question that they are also Iroquois, excepting the Cruickshank heart brooch (6-C).

As was noted in Chapter V, the first group of Oneida to leave the original League territory settled on the Thames River (Delaware Township, Ontario) soon after the Revolution. This community, which still exists today, was visited in 1921 by M. R. Harrington, at which time the specimens illustrated in 4-I, 4-J and 5-F, traditional Iroquois patterns, were collected. In 5-G the upper left and lower right brooches are described in the museum records as "Oneida Indian . . .

1 All such items bear the Museum's accession number 6084 (see Appendix). All data on provenience come from labels and catalogue entries in Museum records, and to these the writer was kindly permitted access.

originally made by a member of the six-nations reservation in Canada." The remaining items in that illustration were collected on the Oneida reservation in Wisconsin by S. A. Barrett in 1910. The material is German silver. Other Wisconsin Oneida specimens are those in 7-C—the center and left earrings being notably similar to eastern Iroquois types—and in 7-E.

Menominee ornaments are especially well represented in the Museum's collections, and a number of these appear in the illustrations. Most of the objects have one of two origins. The first group was collected by Barrett in 1910 when he purchased large quantities of Indian paraphernalia, most of the items being acquired from a Menominee named Mary Kapickawit. Included in this accession are most of the German silver bracelets shown (7-G through 7-J, 8-A and 8-B), and a number of brooches (5-I, except two on lower right, 5-J, upper right and upper left, and 6-A), the ring in 6-E, and an interesting bird form apparently made from another ornament (10-E and 10-F). The lack of the characteristic Menominee button or buckle form may be noted, and at first this might suggest the early 20th century as its time of origin, since in later accessions buttons are plentiful. However, specimens in the Kelsey Collection of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Menominee and Oneida pieces gathered 1887-1895, show that this type of object was well established in Menominee favor at latest by the 1890's.[2] Of the great amount of Menominee metallic jewelry collected by Barrett in 1910 it is curious that only the articles in 9-G and 9-F should be of this sort.

The last of the illustrated accession from this expedition may be seen in 6-G and 10-A. Barrett acquired these silversmithing instruments from George Nikanis, and the catalogue comment under their entry date states that they were used in making such German silver ornaments as 4356-85/2207—that is, the items already noted as part of this accession.

A decade later, in 1920, Alanson Skinner collected a considerable number of Menominee ornaments in Shawano County

[2] Menominee German silver buttons from this collection may be observed in the Plates accompanying **Baerreis, 1950.**

in the vicinity of Keshena. Among these were the bracelets in 8-C through 8-E which interestingly suggest a style quite different from those gathered by Barrett but ten years earlier. Though a generalization cannot be based upon but seveal pieces, perhaps changing styles are indicated. The earrings of the 1920 acquisition (7-D) are of common type, with the exception of the item on the left (which seems to be made of lead and which was worn as a blouse ornament by its owner). 9-H is a handsome specimen, a Menominee woman's blouse with German silver brooches, buttons and ear ornaments of many types. The material is green cotton with red, yellow and blue piping. In connection with the circular ornaments of these types, the possible relationship existing between the button and the brooch forms is interesting to speculate upon. 5-H shows a brooch-button-buckle sequence which conceivably could represent an evolutionary development. On the other hand, it is likely that both button and tongue-brooch forms were available as trade goods. The buckle-like ornaments (e. g., 5-H, top row, left and right center) could well be transitional, however, and this suggestion has been proposed by David A. Baerreis in his 1950 paper. Verification would of course depend both upon the recovery of earlier forms and the better knowledge of possible patterns in trade articles. the only other illustrated specimens from this accession appear in 10-G, and these have been discussed previously.

The brooches in 7-B can be identified only as obtained from graves at Plymouth, Wisconsin, sometime before 1900, when they were acquired by the Museum. Of the brooches in 7-A, only the fact that they are from Wisconsin can be ascertained. 2-F, 8-I and 8-J illustrate other Wisconsin items, perhaps Indian trade goods. The bracelet in 8-I (left) is apparently silver plated on base metal, and by this fact would doubtless be a trade article.

Another prize piece is a silver gorget of English manufacture (6-D). This was recovered at Aztalan Village, Jefferson County, and as its exhibition label explains, it "was probably lost there by some historic Indian warrior." The hall marks upon its reverse side are shown in 6-F and 1-O, and their sig-

nificance has been mentioned in Chapter III.

A goodly number of Kickapoo ornaments are in the collections of the Milwaukee Museum, and representative samples are shown in the Plates for comparative purposes. Originally these specimens were gathered at McCloud, Oklahoma on the Kickapoo Indian Reservation, by Alanson Skinner, 1922-3. An intriguing assortment of forms and styles was included in the accession, among which are the bracelets and arm bands in 8-F through 8-H. The buckle contrivance in the first mentioned illustration allows for adjustment of the band, while the buckles in the latter two photographs are non-functional. The belt-and-buckle element is widely popular, west certainly as far as Oklahoma and east to the New York tribes. If any great numbers of such articles are of native manufacture, their presence as trade objects is thus the more likely.[3] 10-B through 10-D are articles which Skinner refers to as "back combs," in regard to these specimens collected by him among the Kickapoo, and to others mentioned in his publication on Menominee matrial culture. They have been manufactured from German silver, but the former appear to be composed of a copper alloy.

Many other pertinent specimens of silver and German silver jewelry are of course represented in the Museum's extensive collections, and many of the types of articles illustrated for the Kickapoo and Menominee were noted to occur among the Winnebago, Potawatomi, Ioway, Sauk and Chippewa material of recent date. But whether from the trader, or inter-tribally diffused, these articles were considered not so relevant to the questions raised in Chapter V as those selected for illustration.

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[3] For the late historic period, certainly since the turn of the century, "trade objects" is hardly an accurate term. It cannot but suggest bartering with beaver pelts. The implied connotation is, of course, objects available at local trading posts, general stores, etc. "Trade goods" is generally employed in this paper to include any goods transferred in Indian-white dealings, gifts not excepted.

CHAPTER VIII

TRADE SILVER FROM BUTTE DES MORTS, AND OTHER SPECIMENS IN THE OSHKOSH PUBLIC MUSEUM

Before 1820, there were literally but two settled areas in Wisconsin of any importance. One of these was Prairie du Chien; the other was the Green Bay locale. The Winnebago were still the dominant power in the locality, controlling the Fox-Wisconsin portage and collecting toll from traders and travelers who used the route. Their trade with the white man had from the beginning centered largely at Butte Des Morts, an area long "revered as sacred ground by the Indians," as Overton puts it, and it was here in 1818 that Augustin Grignon and Jacques Porlier founded the region's first trading post. Earlier, however, Butte des Morts—whence the name—had been a favorite burial place, first for the Fox and Winnebago, later for the Menominee, and apparently interments continued in considerable numbers at least until the founding of the Grignon-Porlier post.

While erecting porch posts for a dwelling in the modern community at Butte des Morts, a Mr. Robert Kitz, in 1930, encountered one of these Indian burials. Summoning a neighbor, the two assiduously applied themselves to excavation and proudly displayed to the museum authorities, who arrived some hours later, a neat box labeled "bones," another "silver," and so on. (This provoked George Overton to the statement: "In the clumsy rifling of these burials a crime has been committed!" [1])

Much of the material from Butte des Morts is now in the possession of the Oshkosh Museum, and archeological work done at sites in the same locality has supplemented the 1930 articles. A considerable number of specimens of this origin bear the touch mark of Robert Cruickshank, and these include double-barred crosses, squarish brooches, bracelets and arm-

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[1] **Overton, 1931,** summarizes the information obtained from investigations to that date at Butte des Morts. Site notes, compiled by A. P. Kannenberg and G. C. Stowe, were kindly made available to the writer by Mr. James E. Lundsted, Curator of Anthropology at the Oshkosh Public Museum.

lets. Two of the bracelets bear engraved figures of dragon-like creatures which, to the writer's knowledge, have no precedent among trade silver decorations, and certainly none among Cruickshank's typical products. It is doubtful, however, that these are native modifications. Charles Arnoldi is also represented among the recovered items by at least one gorget of silver, while the touch mark "JS," attributable to Jonas Schindler of Quebec, appears upon the left hair band in 9-B (see 1-C). A fourth touch mark encountered was unidentifiable and quite illegible; it may be "II" (see 1-N).

Two unusual objects occurred with these burials. The first, labeled a "canoe" in its museum display, is a flat tube-like silver contrivance with a silver ball at one end attached to a leather thong which may have passed through the interior and out the other end. Overton has called this a "boat-shaped brooch." Its use is open to conjecture, as is the identification of the touch mark it bears (again 1-N). The other rare object was the cover of a "patch-box," a 19th century device for carrying wax wafers with which to seal letters. A touch mark occurred upon this object, but it was completely illegible. Other items from these burials included copper and silver bangles, iron axes, knives, glass trade beads, bullet leads, etc., all exhibited at the Museum. More precise dating could doubtless be advanced by study of associated specimens, but upon the basis of the silverwork alone the burials could have been made no earlier than 1780 (the earliest working dates of Cruickshank and Arnoldi). According to Overton, the site was not used for burial by the Indians (Menominee) long after the beginning of the 19th century. The digging of these particular graves then probably took place some time between 1780 and 1810.

In addition to the silver articles from Butte des Morts, the Oshkosh Museum possesses other fine specimens of Indian ornamental paraphernalia. These include silver and German silver bracelets and bands fashioned by Indian smiths on the Menominee Reservation in the 1920's. Particularly noteworthy is a large German silver button of startling provenience, for catalogue information states that it was made by "a

Navajo silversmith, Navajo Reservation." Neither the date of manufacture nor that of accession is available, but the remarkable parallels in form and design between this Navajo piece and accompanying Menominee articles provoke curiosity. (The rarity of Navajo German silver work makes this piece doubly suspect, however.) The arm bands (or perhaps leg bands) in 10-I and 10-J, as previously mentioned, are of tin. They were collected by Mr. Ralph Buckstaff, of the Oshkosh Museum, in the 1920's from the Menominee. [2]

[2] Oshkosh Museum specimens, both those from Butte des Morts and Menominee articles of later date, are more fully illustrated and discussed in the original thesis of which the present paper is a revised form.

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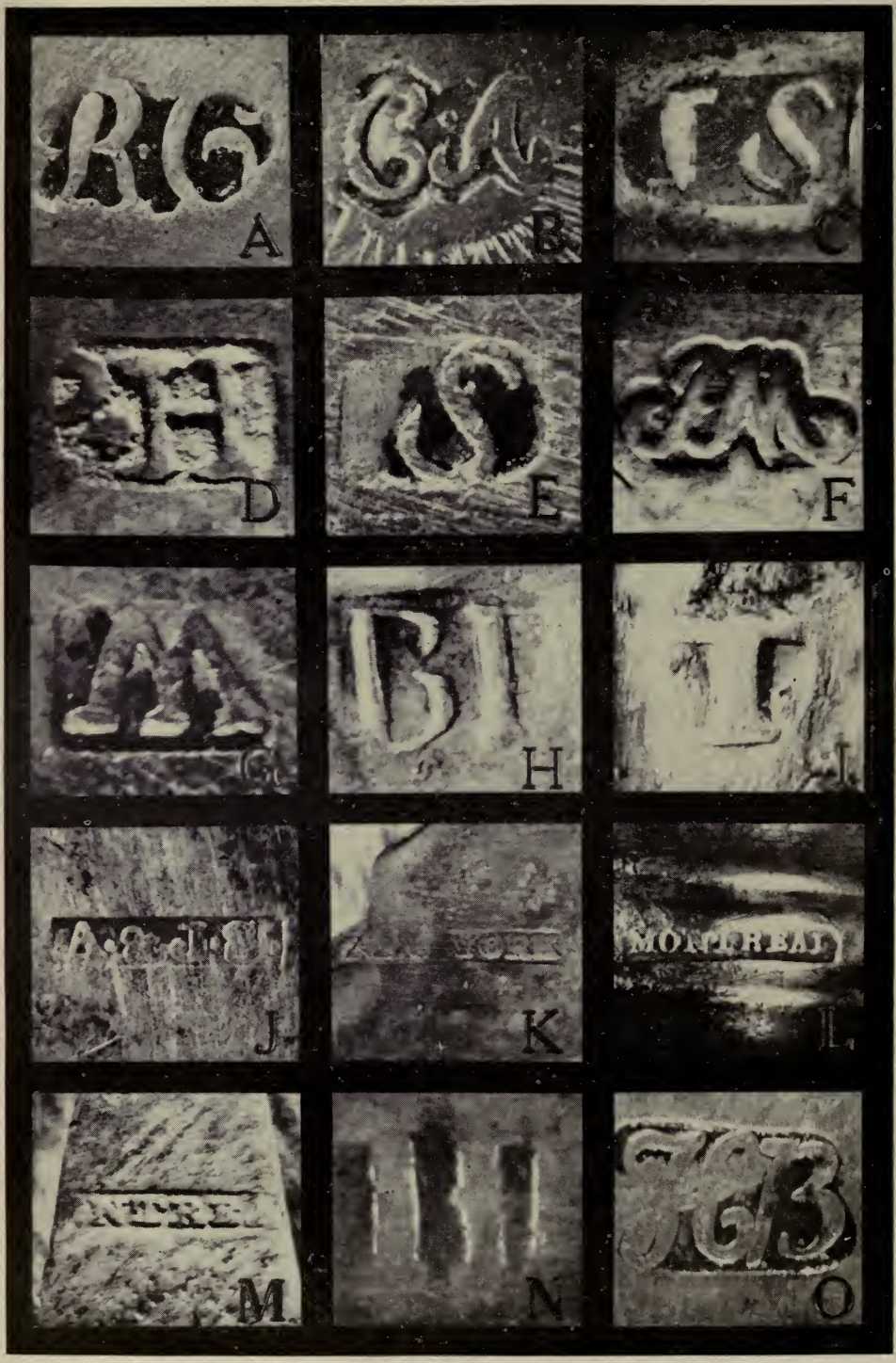

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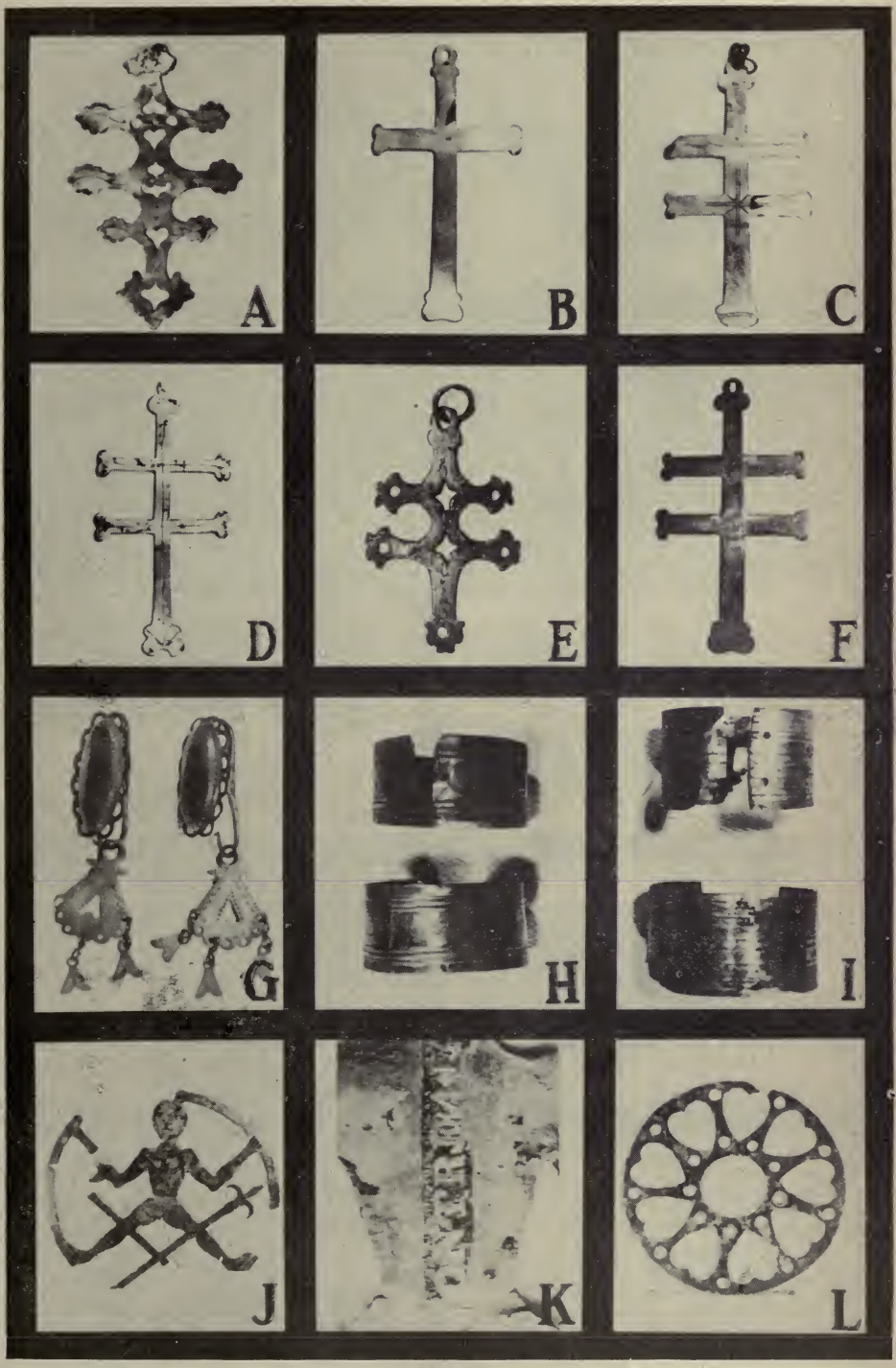

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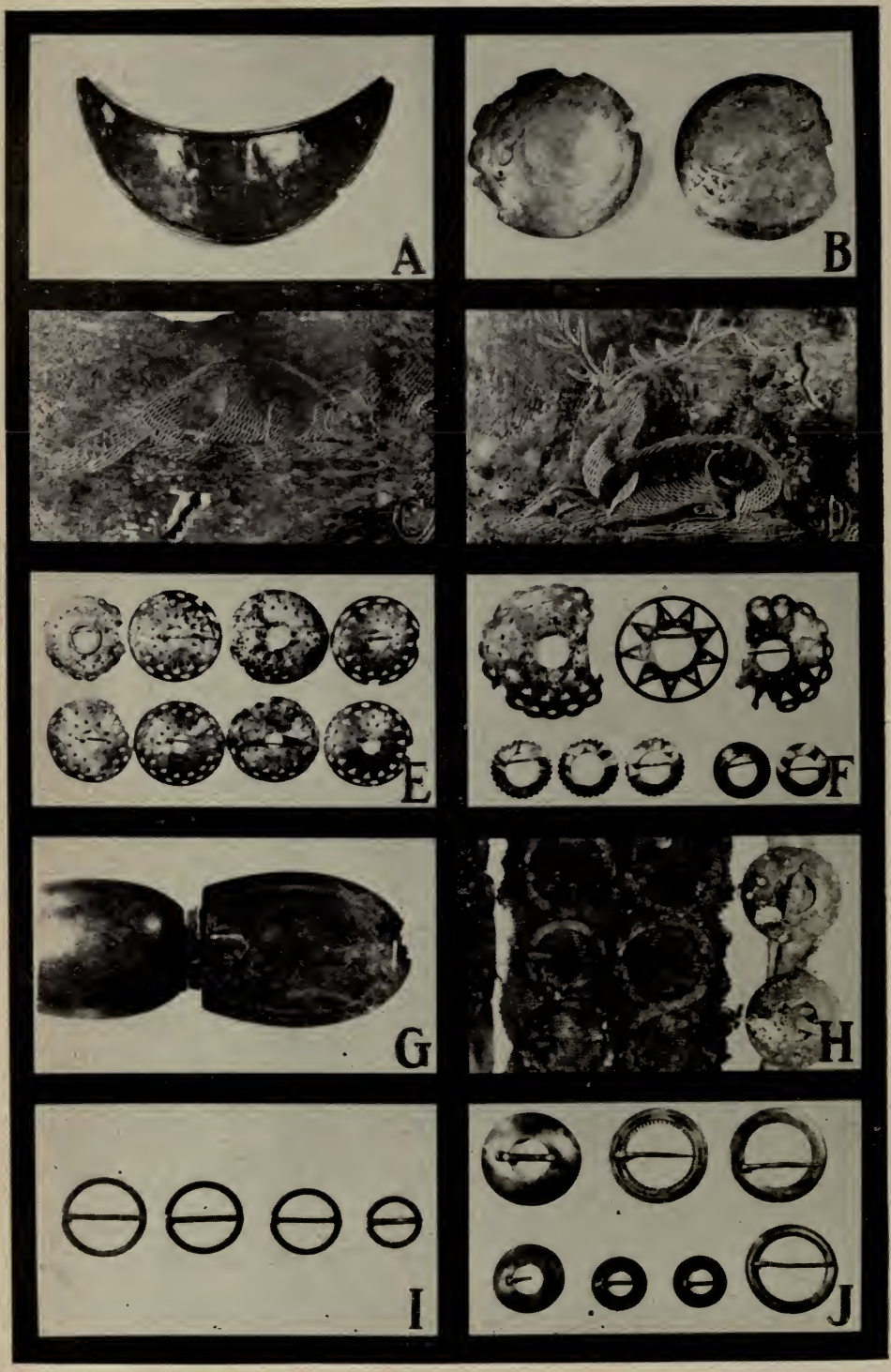

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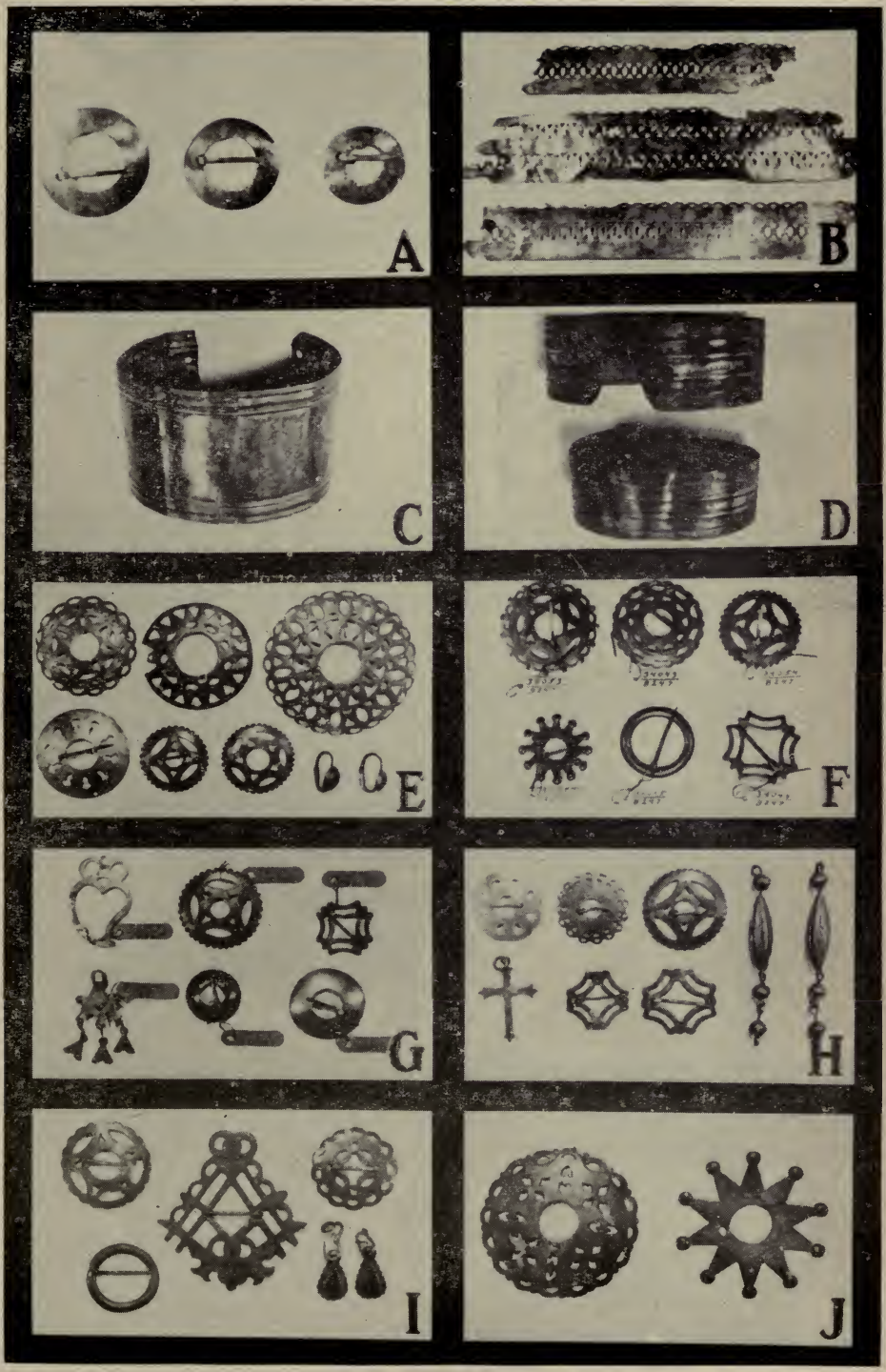

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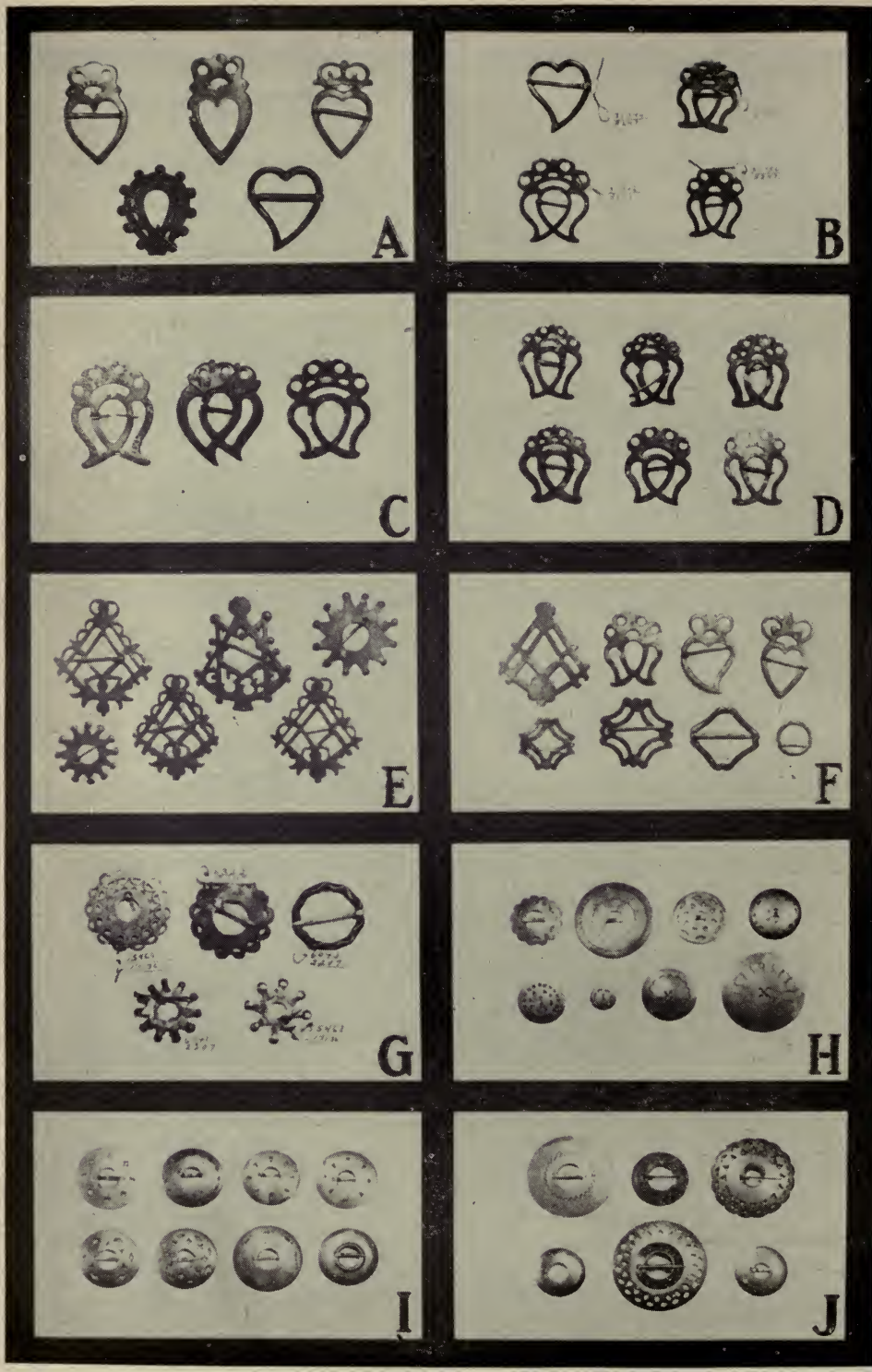

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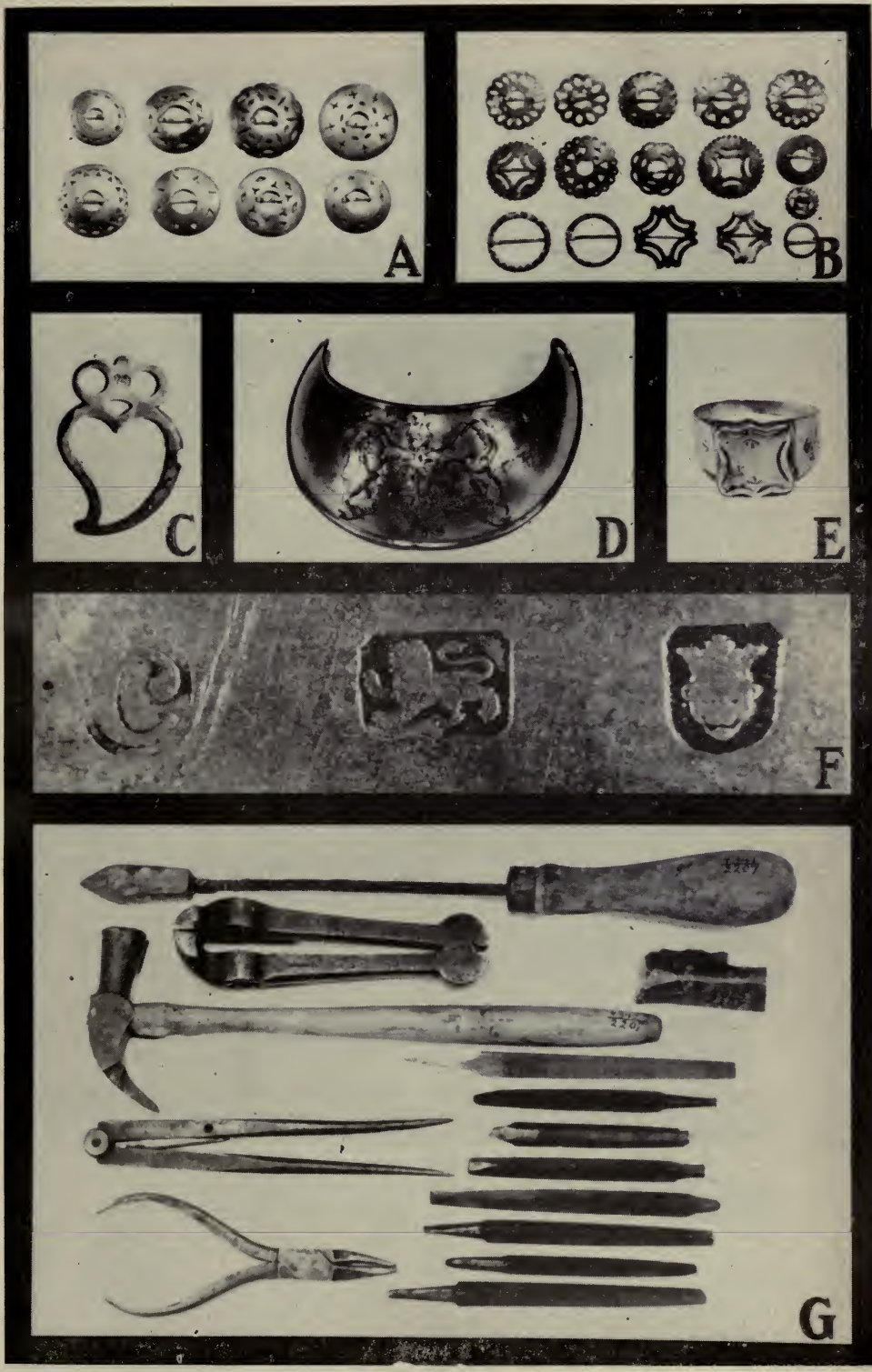

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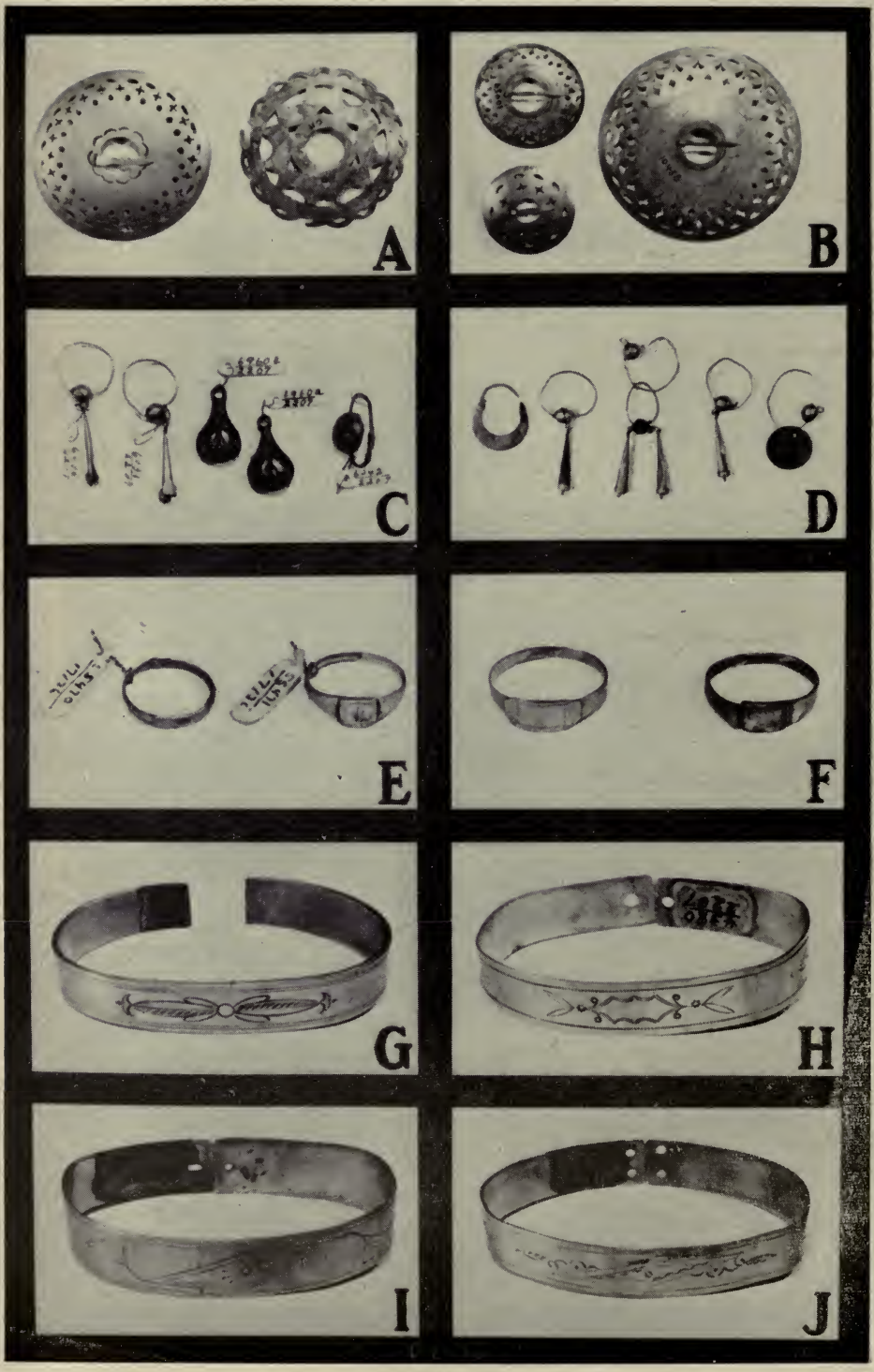
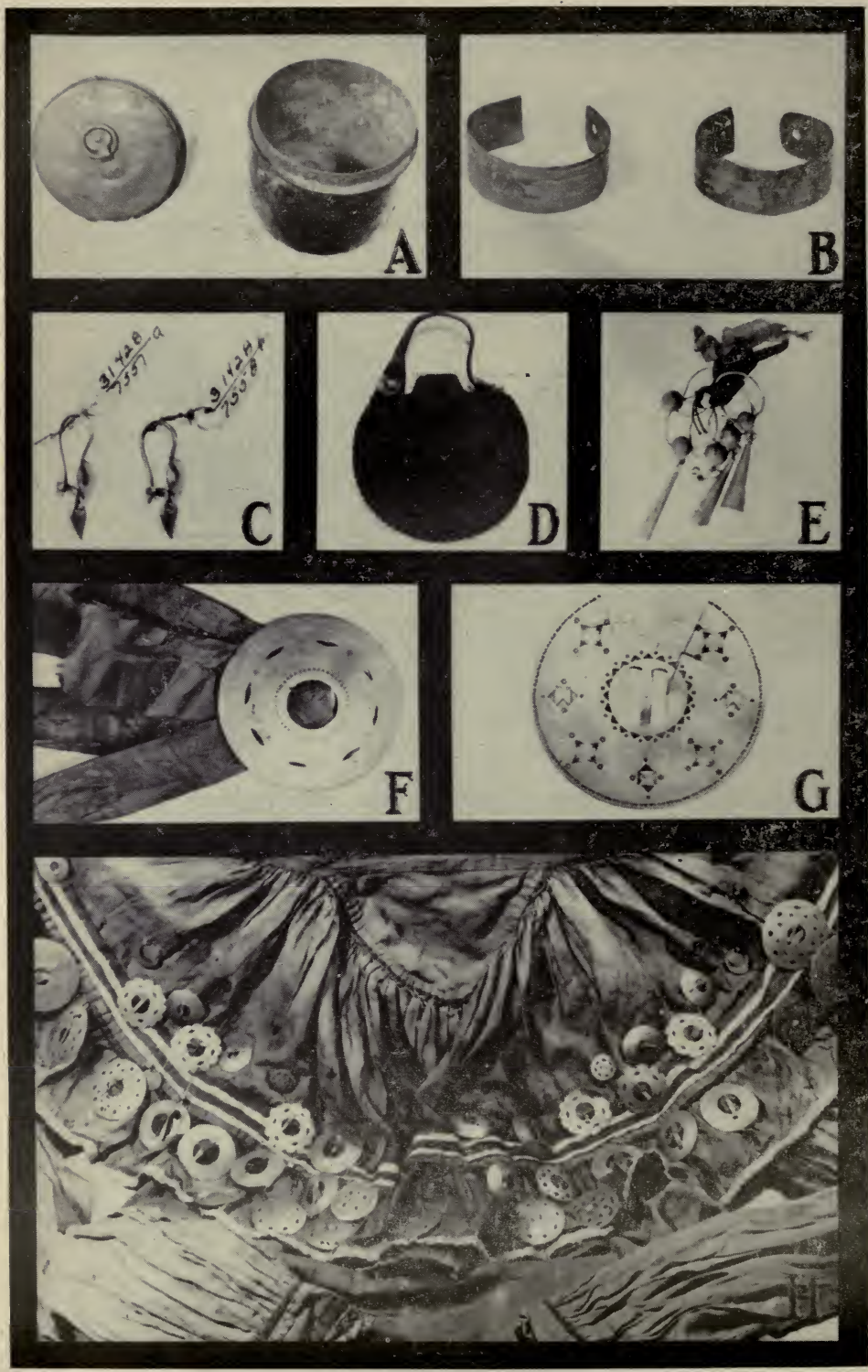


Plate 7

Plate 8



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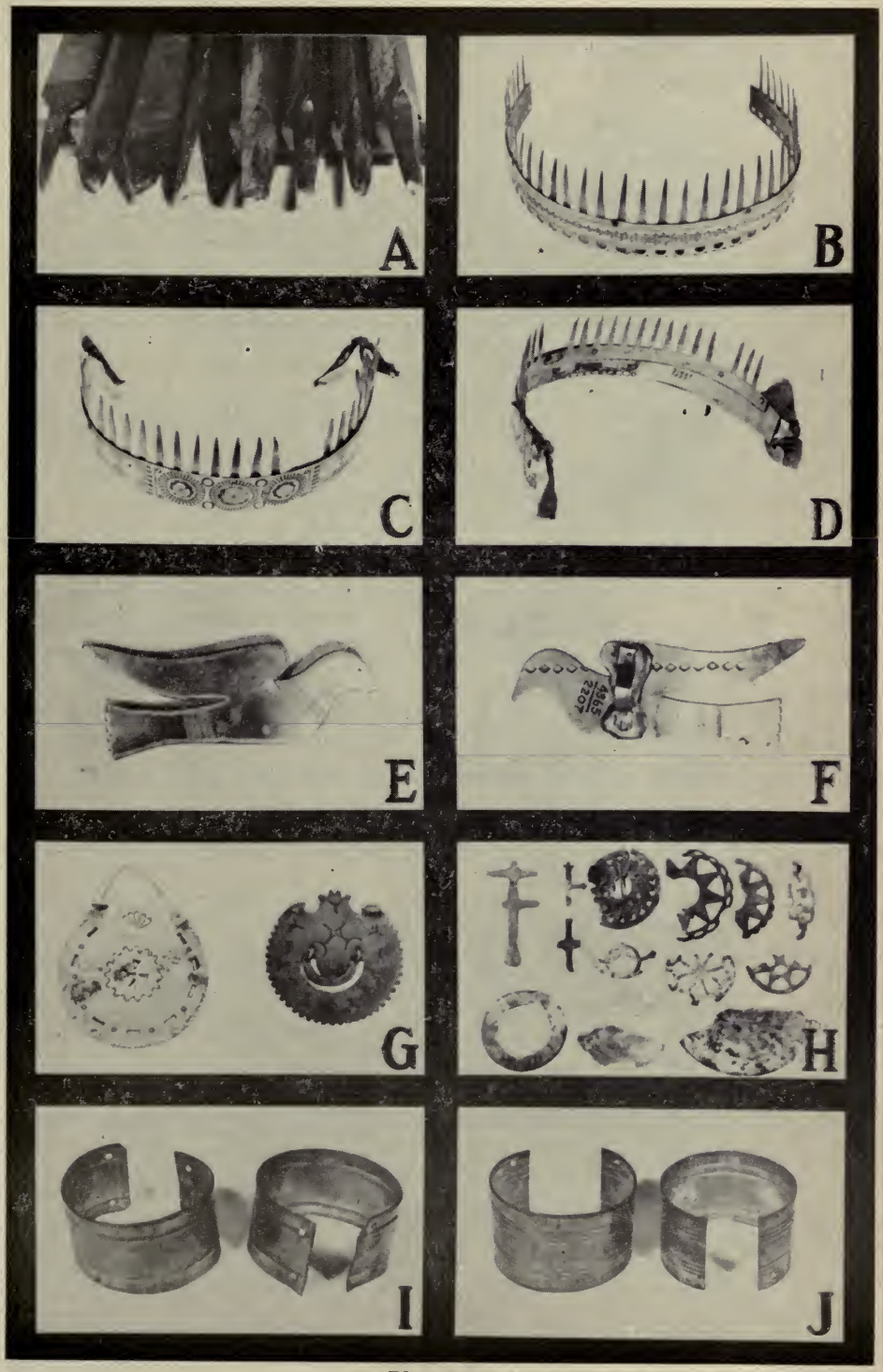


Plate 10

APPENDIX

The following information supplies details on provenience, dimentions, composition and museum catalogue numbers of the articles illustrated in the Plates. Where data of these types are absent they were unobtainable.
The following abbreviations are employed: DPM (Davenport Public Museum); MPM (Milwaukee Public Museum); OPM (Oshkosh Public Museum); D. (diameter); Wd. (width); Ht. (height); Ln. (length); S (silver); GS (German silver). Where specimens are arranged in illustrations in rows, catalogue numbers refer to specimens from left to right in rows, and rows from top to bottom. Bottom number is the Museum accession number; top number is that of the specimen in that accession series.
All DPM specimens are from the Putnam Collection and of the provenience discussed in Chapter VI.

The following summarizes important details of the MPM accessions represented:

6084: Gathered in western New York by S. A. Barrett, 1918.
6118: Cayuga, New York, collected by A. Skinner.
16425: Provenience unknown.
8247: Collected by S. A. Barrett, Ontario, Canada, 1925.
6911: Collected by M. R. Harrington, Thames, Ontario, Canada, 1921.
17136: Purchased from E. Schuyler and "were originally made by a member of the six-nations reservation, Canada." (MPM catalogues.)
2207: All Wisconsin Indian products, gathered by S. A. Barrett, 1910.
6873: Collected by A. Skinner, Keshena, Wisconsin, 1920.
7557: Gathered by A. Skinner, McCloud, Oklahoma, 1923.
7287: Same provenience as 7557, but dated 1922.
4394: Collected in Wisconsin.
12296: Collected Aztalan Village, Wisconsin.
(?): Wisconsin.

Provenience of the OPM specimens represented is:
L/181: Gathered by Ralph Buckstaff, Menominee Reservation, 1920's.

PLATE 1

A. TM "RC" from S cross in 2-A. DPM.
B. TM "CA" from S brooch in 4-A, center. DPM.
C. TM "JS" from S hair band in 9-B, left. OPM.
D. TM "PH" from S brooch in 3-F, top right. DPM.
E. TM "S" from S cross in 2-B. DPM.
F. TM "JM" from S brooch in 3-F, bottom row, center. DPM.
G. TM "M" from S cross in 2-C. DPM.
H. TM "BP" from S gorget in 3-A. DPM.
I. TM "T" from S bracelet in 2-I, top. DPM.
J. TM "A&JS" from S gorget of type in 3-B. DPM.
K. TM "NEW YORK" from S gorget of type in 3-B. DPM.
L. TM "MONTREAL" from S bracelet in 4-D, top. DPM.
M. TM "NTREA" from S brooch of types in 3-E. DPM.
N. TM "II" (?) from S brooch (?) (not shown). OPM.
O. TM "HB" from S gorget in 6-D. MPM.

PLATE 2

A. S cross. Ht. 5 3/4". TM: "RC". DPM.
B. S cross. Ht. 4 13/16". TM: "S". DPM.

C. S cross. Ht. 4 11/16". TM: "M". DPM.
D. S cross. Ht. 5 9/16". DPM.
E. Iroquois GS cross. Ht. 2 5/16". MPM: 23970/6084.
F. Wisconsin GS Trade Cross. Ht. 5 1/4". MPM: 3677/?
G. Iroquois GS earrings. Ht. 2 3/4". MPM: 23972b-d/6084.
H. Top: S bracelet. Wd. 3/4". TM: "MONTREAL." DPM.
Bottom: S bracelet. Wd. 7/8". TM: "RC" & "MONTREAL." DPM.
I. Top: S bracelet. Wd. 1 3/8". TM: "T". DPM.
Bottom: S bracelet. Wd. 1 3/8". TM: "T". DPM.
J. S Hair Plate. D. 2 3/4". TM: "MONTREAL." DPM.
K. TM "MONTREAL" from hair plate in 2-J. DPM.
L. S Hair Plate. D. 2 3/4". TM: "RC". DPM.

PLATE 3

A. S gorget. Ln. 5 5/16". TM: "BP". DPM.
B. Left: S gorget. D. 3 13/16". DPM.
Right: S gorget. D. 3 13/16". DPM.
C. Engraved beaver (enlarged) from gorget of type in 3-B. DPM.
D. Engraved deer (enlarged) from gorget of type in 3-B. DPM.
E. S brooches. Range of D's. 2 1/2" - 2 3/4". TM: various portions of "MONTREAL." DPM.
F. S brooches. DPM.
Top left: 3 1/2". TM: illegible.
Top center: D. 2 5/16". TM: "RC".
Top right: D. 3 1/8". TM: "PH".
Bottom row, from left:
(1) D. 1 1/2". TM: "JM" (4 on face in ornamental fashion).
(2) same as above.
(3) same as above, except only one TM.
(4) D. 1 7/16".
(5) D. 1 3/8".
G. S spoon locket. Ln. (open) 5 7/16". DPM.
H. Fabric with S ring-brooches. DPM.
I. S ring-brooches. Range of D's. 9/16" - 14/16". DPM.
J. S brooches. Range of D's 9/16" - 1". DPM.

PLATE 4

A. S brooches. DPM.
Left: D. 1 1/4". TM: "RC".
Center: D. 1 1/16". TM: "CA".
Right: D. 7/8".
B. S headbands. Max. Ln. 9". DPM.
C. S bracelet. Wd. 2". TM: "RC". DPM.
D. S bracelets. DPM.
Top: Wd. 7/8". TM: "RC" & "MONTREAL".
Bottom: Wd. 3/4". TM: "MONTREAL".
E. Iroquois GS items. Scale: brooch, upper left, D. 1 5/8". MPM: 24351-33-63-32-44/6084, 11481/6118, 23974/6084.
F. Iroquois GS brooches. Scale: brooch, upper left, D. 1 1/4". MPM: 34053-43-54-55-45-49/8274.
G. Iroquois GS items (except upper left, S). Scale: top center brooch, D. 1 1/16". MPM: 54957-51-56-55-50-52/16425.
H. Iroquois GS items (except cross, S, & perhaps pendant ornament). Scale: brooch, top left, D. 7/8".
MPM: 24340-60-67-23969-24404-00-23976a-b/6084.
I. Oneida GS items. Scale: brooch, top left, D. 1 1/2".
MPM: 28347-45-46-68-51/6911.

J. Oneida GS brooches. Scale: brooch, left, D. 2".
MPM: 28339-40/6911.

PLATE 5

A. Iroquois GS brooches. Scale: item top left, Ht. 1 7/16".
MPM: 24432-31-30-23971-24427/6084.
B. Iroquois GS brooches. Scale: item top left, Ht. 1 1/8".
MPM: 34044-50-52-56/8247.
C. Iroquois GS brooches. Scale: item left, 1 1/2".
MPM: 24424-33-23/6084.
D. Iroquois GS brooches. All approx. 1 1/32" in Ht.
MPM: 24417-18-20-22-15-19/6084.
E. Iroquois GS brooches. Scale: item top left, Ht. 2 1/8".
MPM: 24440-38-338-34-441-39/6084.
F. Oneida GS brooches. Scale: item top left, Ht. 1 1/2".
MPM: 28343-41-42-64-60-49-73/6911.
G. Wisconsin Oneida GS brooches. Scale: item top left, D. 1 1/8".
MPM: 55469/17136, 6322-6043-41/2207, 55468/17136.
H. Menominee GS items. Scale: item top left, D. 1 3/8". All items appear in 9-H and are included in MPM: 28173/6873.
I. Menominee GS brooches. Scale: item top left, D. 1 9/16".
MPM: 4373-74-75-76-79-78/2207, 28186d-e/6873.
J. Menominee GS brooches. Scale: item top left, D. 2 1/32".
MPM: 4372-?-4367/2207, 28186f-a-g/6873.

PLATE 6

A. Menominee GS brooches. Scale: item top left, D. 1 7/32".
MPM: 4360-62-66-68-69-70-71-77/2207.
B. Iroquois GS brooches. Scale: item upper left, D. approx. 7/8".
MPM: (top row) 24361-54-65-56a-56b/6084; (center row) 24364-59-57-69-55/6084; (bottom row) 24371-370-411-405-362-374/6084.
C. S heart broooch. TM: "RC". Ht. 1 1/4". (Same item as in 4-G.) MPM: 54957/16425.
D. S gorget. Hall Mark: see 6-F & 1-O. Ht. 2 1/2" (front center). MPM: 44307/12296.
E. Menominee GS ring. D. 3/4". MPM: 4357/2207.
F. Hall Marks (enlarged) from reverse of gorget in 6-D.
G. Menominee silversmithing tools. Scale: Ln. of hammer 8 7/8". All items in Accession No. 2207.

PLATE 7

A. GS brooches.
Left: D. 2 13/16". MPM: 2472(?).
Right: D. 2 9/16". MPM: 110(?).
B. Wisconsin GS brooches. Scale: item right, D. 4 15/16".
MPM: 10459/(?), 10458/(?), 2472/(?).
C. Wisconsin Oneida ear ornaments; pair on left S, others GS. Scale: item left, Ht. 1 3/4". MPM: 6036-39-60b-60a-42/2207.
D. Menominee ear ornaments; left, lead (?); others S & GS. Scale: item left, Wd. 3/4". MPM: All items appear in 9-H and are included in MPM: 28173/6873.
E. Wisconsin GS (?) Oneida rings. Scale: item left, D. 3/4".
MPM: 55470-71/17136.
F. Iroquois rings; left GS (?); right, S. Scale: both D. 3/4".
MPM: 24435-36/6084.
G. Menominee GS bracelet. Wd. 17/32". MPM: 4363a/2207.
H. Menominee GS bracelet. Wd. 17/32". MPM: 4380/2207.
I. Menominee GS bracelet. Wd. 9/16". MPM: 4382/2207.
J. Menominee GS bracelet. Wd. 17/32". MPM: 4381/2207.

PLATE 8

A. Menominee GS bracelet. Wd. 11/16". MPM: 4383/2207.
B. Menominee GS bracelet. Wd. 11/16". MPM: 4385/2207.
C. Menominee GS bracelet. Wd. 17/32". MPM: 28185/6873.
D. Menominee GS bracelet. Wd. 3/4". MPM: 28148/6873.
E. Menominee GS bracelets; identical pair. Wd. 1 1/32". MPM: 28183-a/6873.
F. Kickapoo GS arm bands; pair. D. 4". MPM: 31425a-b/7557.
G. Kickapoo GS bracelet. Wd. 3/8". MPM: 30165b/7287.
H. Kickapoo GS bracelet. Wd. 9/32". MPM: 31429a/7557.
I. Left: Bracelet, S-plate on ? Wd. 1 1/4". MPM: (?).
Right: GS bracelet. Wd. 1 1/4". MPM: 2472/(?).
J. GS trade bracelets. Scale: item left, Wd. 1/4". MPM: 2472 & 2796b/(?).

PLATE 9

A. Copper pot and cover. D. of mouth, 6". DPM.
B. S hair bands; pair. D. 1 1/2". DPM.
C. Kickapoo GS earrings. MPM: 31428a-b/7557.
D. Kickapoo copper (?) ear ornament. Wd. 2 1/2". MPM: 31430/7557.
E. S ear ornaments. Ln. (of bangles) 3/4". DPM.
F. Menominee GS buckle, with scarlet ribbon. D. (buckle) 2 13/16". MPM: 4364/2207.
G. Menominee GS buckle. D. 3 9/32". MPM: 4356/2207.
H. Menominee Woman's blouse, with ornaments of GS, lead & copper. MPM: 28173/6873.

PLATE 10

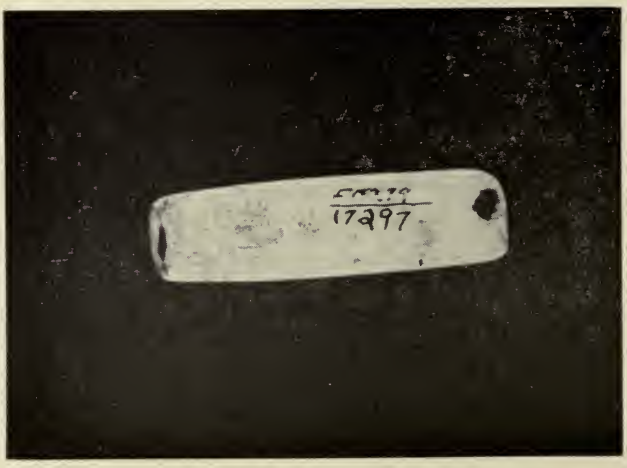
A. Menominee silversmithing tools; enlarged view of items in 6-G.
B. Kickapoo GS "back comb." Ht. 1 12/16". MPM: 31426/7557.
C. Kickapoo GS "back comb." Ht. 1 11/16". MPM: 31427/7557.
D. Rear view of item in 10-C.
E. Menominee GS bird pin. Ln. 2 9/16". MPM: 4365/2207.
F. Rear view of item in 10-E.
G. Menominee GS (left) and GS (?) (right) ear ornaments. Scale: item left, Wd. 1 9/16". MPM: 28960-59/4394.
H. Fragmentary items. DPM.
Large cross: Ht. 3 1/4". Lead (?).
Small cross, top: S (?).
Small cross, center: lead (?).
Item lower left: thin silver; TM: "JS" (?). D. 2 1/2".
Bottom row, center and right: gorget fragments, S; TM's: "NEW YORK."
Center row, right: fragment of hair plate, lead (?).
Other items: fragments of hair plates and brooches, S.
I. Menominee tin arm bands. Wd. 2 3/16". OPM: L/181.
J. Menominee tin arm bands. Wd. 2 9/16". OPM: L/181.

A MILWAUKEE COUNTY GRAVEL PIT BURIAL

Arthur Niehoff

In November, 1952 while digging sand at Clark's gravel pit on South Curtis Road north of Greenfield Avenue, Section 31, Town of Wauwatosa, a power shovel uncovered a number of Indian burials. Unfortunately the skeletons were badly damaged in the process of taking them out and only a small portion of the bone fragments, representing two individuals, were turned over to the Milwaukee Museum. A large fragment of a mandible with a sharp angle of the ramus and an unerupted third molar indicates that one of the individuals was a boy about fifteen years of age.

The burials were in a sandy layer about four feet below the surface. Associated with them was one cylindrical polished bead made from the columella of a conch shell, length 1⅝" and outer diameter 7|16". There are similar beads reported from the Middle Mississippi Phase at Cahokia, Illinois. It was also noticed that many of the bones were stained green, a certain indication that copper had been in proximity to the burials. A rather unusual staining occurred in two molar



teeth in which the roots were heavily pigmented, leaving the crowns unstained.

The pit was inspected after the report and some test excavation was done by Dr. Ritzenthaler and the author but there was no evidence of any more burials.

Charles E. Brown in "The Wisconsin Archeologist," Vol. 3, No. 3, July, 1924 describes gravel pit burials in eastern Wisconsin. Although among these there are some graves with European trade goods and some with Mississippi grave goods, the majority have produced artifacts indicative of the Old Copper Culture. Both the Potosi and Oconto Old Copper burial grounds were in sandy layers from 2½ feet to 5 feet below the surface. The Clark gravel pit burial would seem to suggest an Old Copper cemetery insofar as burial location and presence of copper are concerned. On the other hand the conch-shell bead seems to belong to the Middle Mississippi phase.

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1903 - 1953

June, 1953
Vol. 34, No. 2

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Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Incorporated 1903

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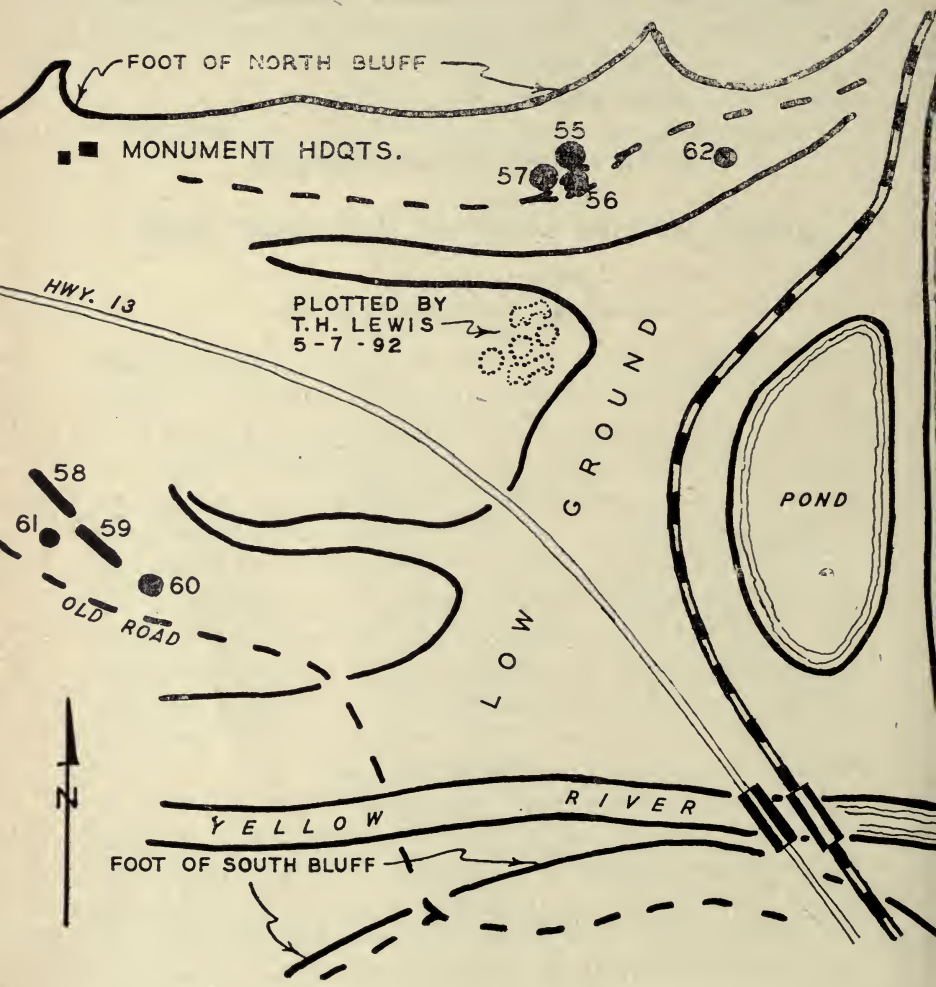
SOME HOPEWELLIAN MOUNDS at the EFFIGY MOUNDS NATIONAL MONUMENT, IOWA

Paul L. Beaubien

Archeologist, National Park Service

The Effigy Mounds National Monument located in Allamakee and Clayton Counties, Iowa, was established October 25, 1949, by Presidential Proclamation principally to preserve a number of interesting prehistoric Indian mounds for the "enjoyment of future generations." The monument area measures roughly one-half mile east and west and three miles north and south. It extends along the west bank of the Mississippi River and is divided into two approximately equal parts by the Yellow River, a tributary of the Mississippi. Shortly after the establishment of the Monument, plans were formulated to conduct archeological investigations at the area, to test sites involved in construction projects and to provide information essential for a sound interpretive program.

In the course of the initial exploration which took place in the summer of 1950, excavations were conducted in two of a group of three small conical mounds located on a talus slope facing southeast toward the mouth of the Yellow River and immediately to the east of the Monument headquarters. One of these mounds (No. 55) proved to contain grave goods of Hopewellian type and its importance was enhanced by the fact that charcoal from the mound fill was dated by radiocarbon analysis (Beaubien, 1952). During the summer of 1952 additional excavations were conducted in the general area, primarily to evaluate the archeological importance of the Sny-Magill mound group south of McGregor, Iowa, (Beaubien, 1953) but toward the close of the season the third of the group



NOT TO SCALE

Map No. 1

Copied from sketch by Ellison Orr (1926) with some features added to represent more recent conditions. Orr had indicated location of five mounds surveyed by T. H. Lewis. (Records of Hill-Lewis Survey are available, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.)

of conical mounds on the Yellow River was also excavated. This, too, proved to have grave good of Hopewellian affiliation. The objective of this report is to describe in detail the results of the excavations in this group of three conical mounds at the Effigy Mounds National Monument and to suggest the relationship of these mounds to the Hopewellian cultures of the northern Mississippi Valley.

Unlike most of the existing mounds in the Monument, which are located on the high bluffs of the area, the group of three conical mounds is only about 25 feet above the Mississippi. They were, however, not the only mounds originally located on the lower terrace. Mr. T. H. Lewis, in 1892, recorded 12 linears, 6 club-shaped embankments, 37 conicals, and 3 "tailless" animals in this vicinity, (Ellison Orr, Ms.). Aside from the three conical mounds under consideration, there remains today only one small conical some 100 yards to the east of this group and two linear and two vandalized conical mounds beyond a formerly cultivated field some 400 yards southwest. The relative position of these surviving mounds and a few, now destroyed, the approximate position of which is noted in a sketch prepared by Dr. Ellison Orr in 1926, is given in Map No. 1.

Excavation of Mound No. 56

Since this conical mound was partly obliterated by an old road, it was thought that the contents would be revealed with a minimum of digging. The original size appeared to have approximated that of the two adjacent conical mounds. Excavation revealed that the mound had been vandalized many years ago, probably before 1900. The neck of a hand-blown bottle was all that was recovered.

Excavation of Mound No. 55

A conical mound, 4.2 feet in height and approximately 47 feet in diameter, was 53.5 feet distant from Mound 56, center to center. Fortunately its exploration was much more rewarding. However, since the excavation was conducted at the close of the season, only the central portion of the mound could be explored. The interior of the mound was found to have been considerably disturbed by rodents so that it is probable that

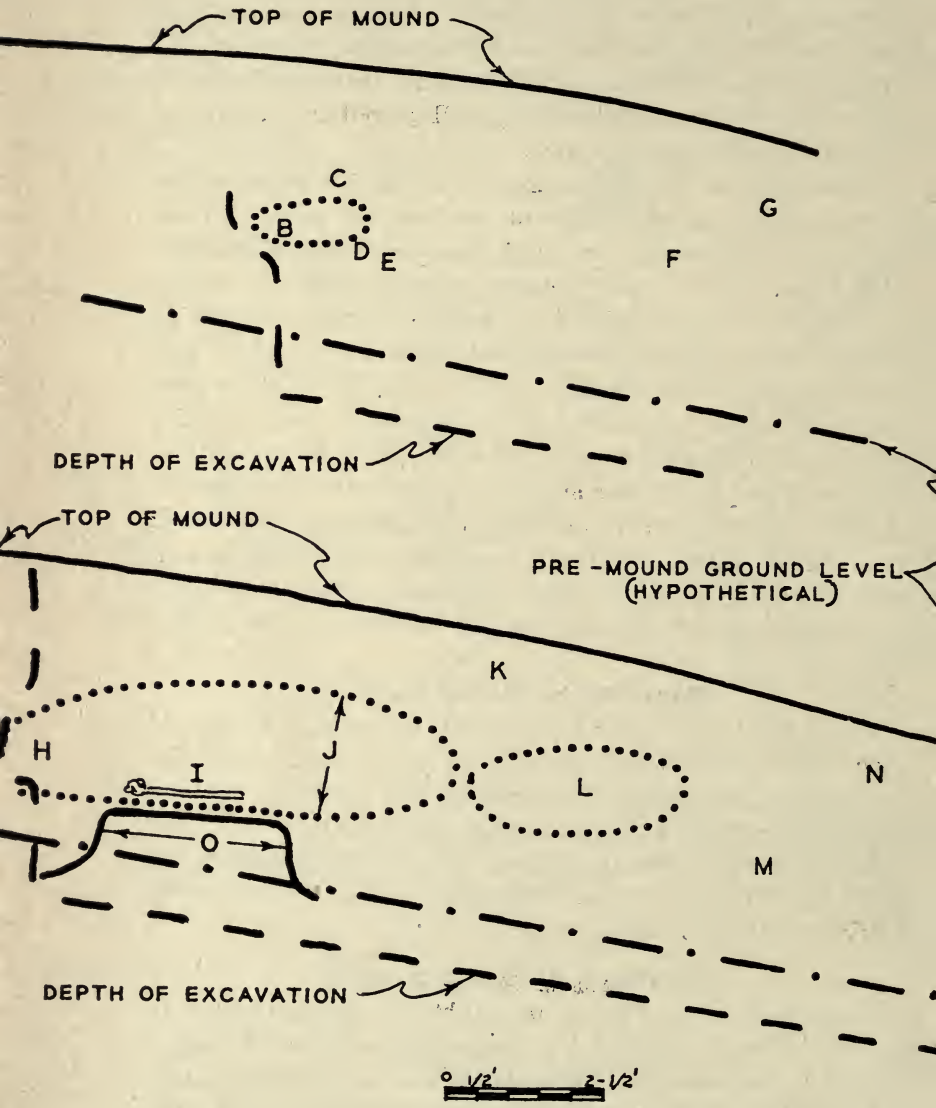


Figure 1

Horizontal placement of features in Mound No. 55.
Refer to text for key to letter symbols.

many smaller objects were displaced. Lumps of burned earth, red, yellow, and gray in color, and ranging in size from a few ounces to twenty pounds, were common near the central core of the mound (Figure 1, J). A number of rocks, some weighing more than one hundred pounds, were found scattered in the fill. As their placement seemed to betray no pattern or systematic arrangement, it was believed that their only purpose was to increase the volume of the mound. Scattered in this same central area of the mound were fragments of partially cremated skeletal material, a large mass of charcoal, (Figure 1, A) portions of three blades and a bear canine ornament. The distribution of the human skeletal material is shown on Figure 1. "B" indicates a charred mandible and skull fragments; H: charred fragments of a second skull; I: an unburned femur associated with a portion of a crushed and charred pelvis; L: an area of numerous scattered fragments of charred bone in black earth loaded with minute pieces of charcoal; M: the charred portion of the symphysis region of a mandible; and N: fragments of tooth enamel believed to be human.

As nearly as it was possible to determine, all of the charred bone fragments, save the canine ornaments, were of human origin. Analysis of the charred bone fragments indicates that at least three individuals were represented. The position of the cultural material is also shown in Figure 1 where C, D, F, and K refer to the blade fragments and E and G to the charred fragments of other canine teeth. One additional symbol on Figure 1 requires explanation. "O" represents a thin line of soil of darker color than adjacent soils which could only be detected over a limited area. The vertical placement of these same features, with the same letter symbols used, is given in Figure 2.

Because of the scattered placement of the bone fragments and the burned soil, it was assumed that the bodies were cremated elsewhere. The ashes, with some bones not entirely calcined, and the burned soil were gathered together when the remains were moved to the mound site. Two of the blades were fractured by heat, as is attested by the rough surfaces of

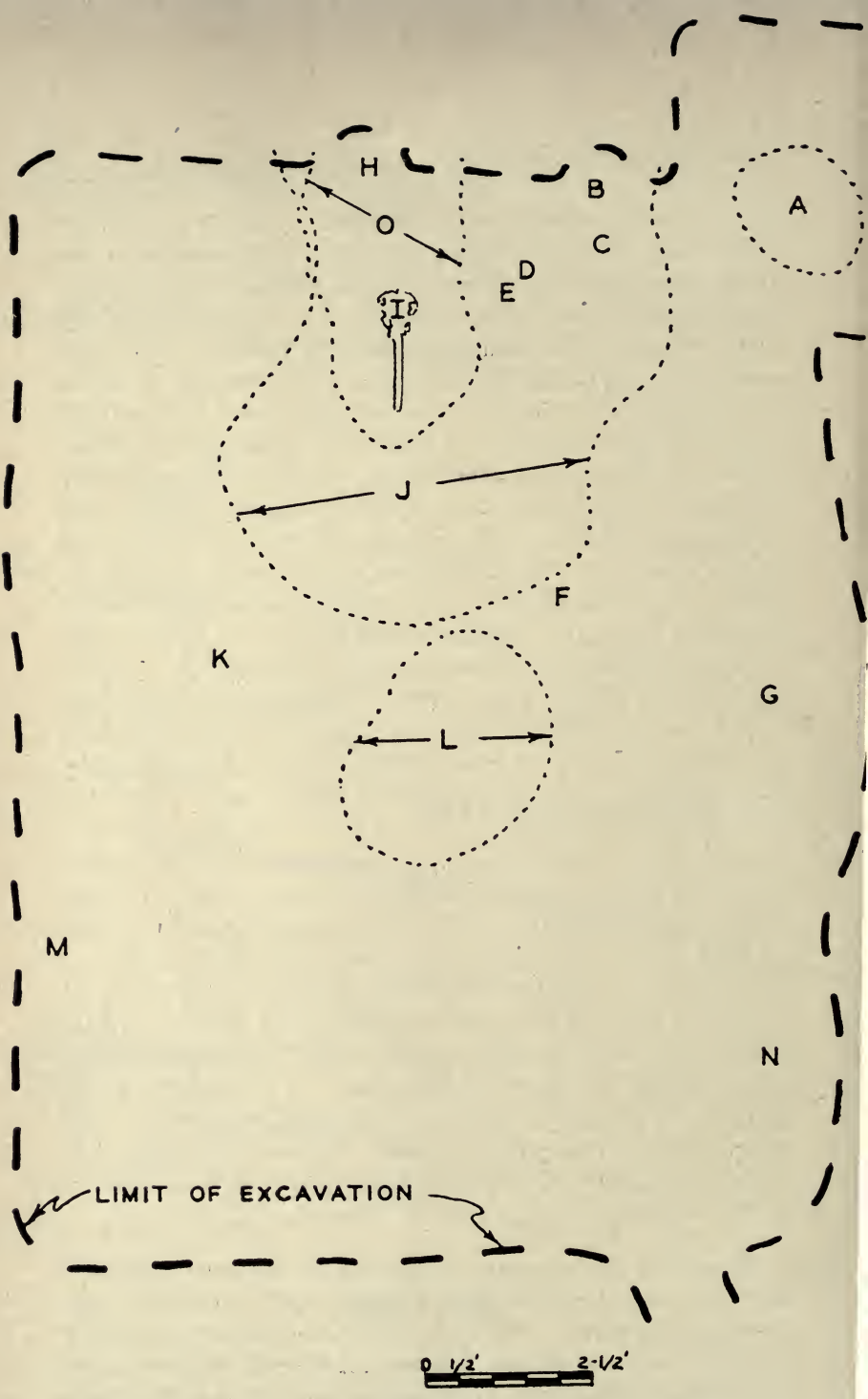


Figure 2
Vertical placement of features in Mound No. 55
Refer to text for key to letter symbols

the fractures, so that it would appear that the grave goods had been gathered up from the cremation area and then buried in a similar fashion. There is no evidence of the preparation of a distinct burial floor or area in the mound but, as previously mentioned, the extent of rodent disturbances was such as to make interpretation difficult.

The cultural material found in Mound 55 is illustrated in Figure 3. The two large blades with a markedly convex base and corner notches show a close relationship with a Hopewellian projectile point type for which the name Snyders Notched has been proposed by Scully (1951), the chief variation being that the blade is proportionately longer than was recognized for the projectile type. This divergence in proportion possibly resulted from a dissimilarity of intended use rather than from different form concepts in the minds of the makers. Both blades are of a black flint and were finished by pressure flaking. The dimensions as deduced from broken specimens were 8.5 by 18.5 cm. for the more complete one (Figure 3, C) and 8.0 by 14.3 cm. for the other (Figure 3, A). Both faces of the first specimen are illustrated. The point of the third blade (Figure 3, B) was recovered from the mound fill, nine inches below the surface, and the association with other inclusions is uncertain. This broken specimen is 8.4 cm. in length, while the greatest width is 3.3 cm. The bear canine ornament, both faces of which are illustrated in Figure 3, D, was recovered in good condition because it somehow escaped damage from the crematory fire. Cone shaped pits were drilled directly opposite each other in the root end but were not of sufficient depth to meet. The over-all length is 7.4 cm. Also recovered were a few burned fragments of other Carnivora canines.

A sample of charcoal from Mound 55 was dated by Professor H. R. Crane of the Phoenix Laboratory of the University of Michigan as 900 years before the present, plus or minus 300 years. The charcoal sample consisted of a large mass that did not appear to have been disturbed by the rodent activity that was so extensive in the mound. It was found in the mound at the same level as the two charred skulls.

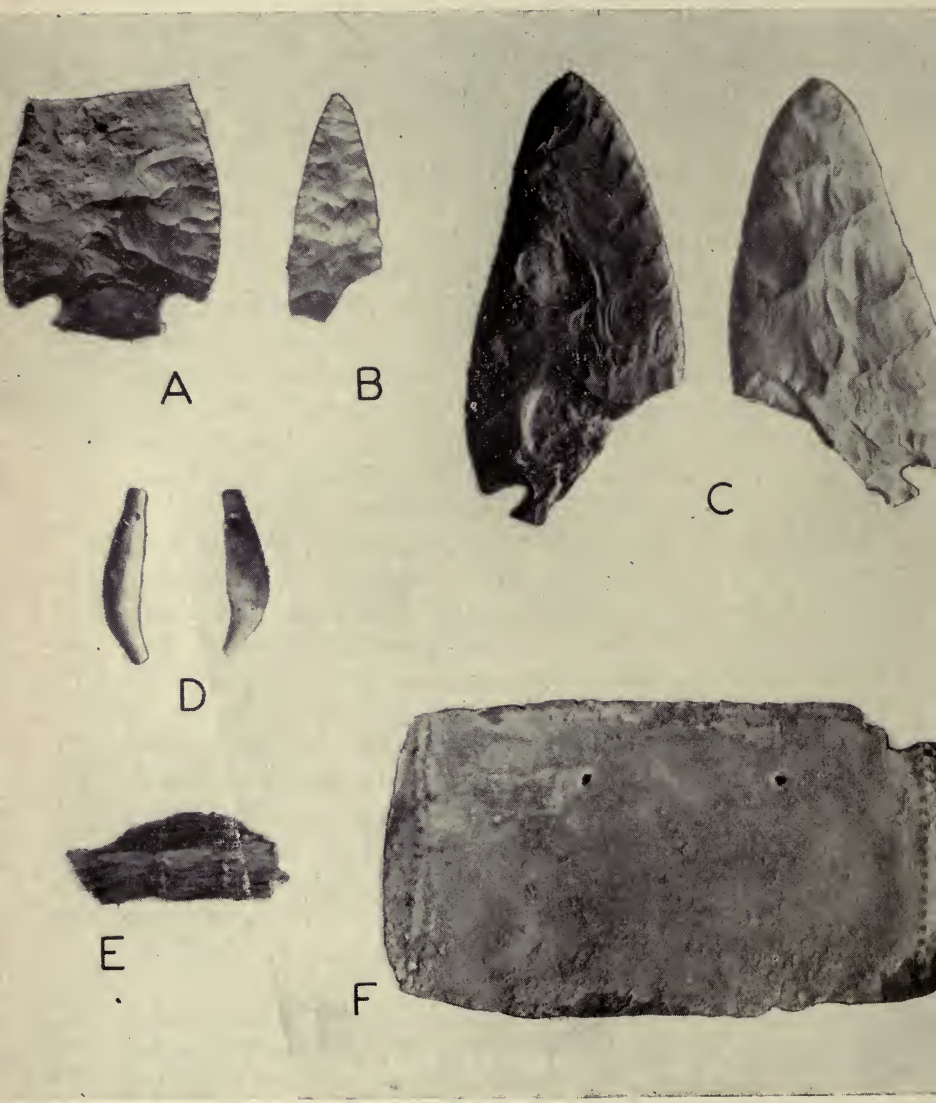


Figure 3

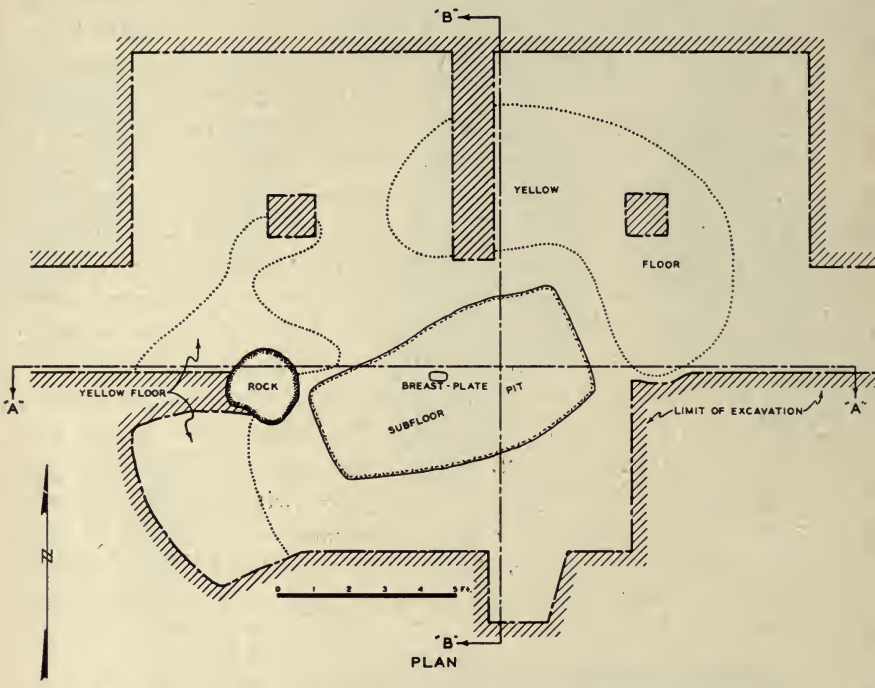
Artifacts found in Mound 55 and 57 at the Effigy Mounds National Monument. A-D, Mound 55. E-F, Mound 57. Variable scale.

Excavation of Mound 57

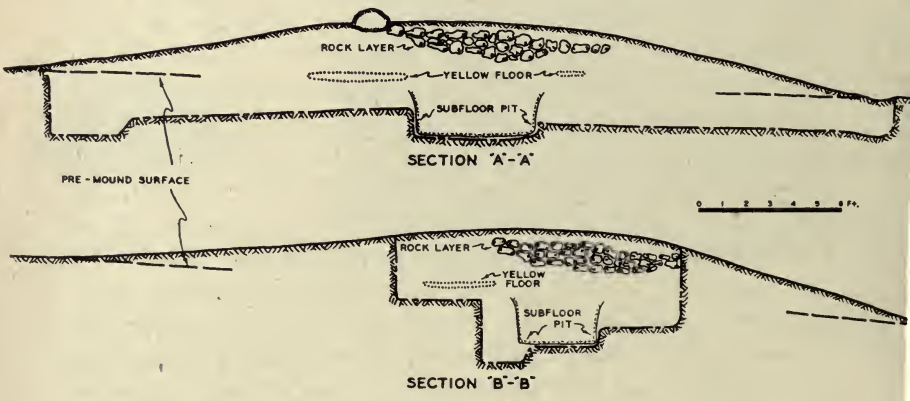
Mound 57, also conical in form, was 3.8 feet in height and the diameter approximated 53 feet. It was located southwest of Mound 55 at a distance of 58.5 feet, center to center. Because of its proximity to Mound 55 and similar outward appearance, it was hoped that the excavation of Mound 57 would provide additional information concerning the practice of cremation. However, no such evidence was found.

The mound fill contained numerous blocks of limestone and a definite layer was concentrated over the central portion of the mound a few inches below the surface. The principal construction feature within the mound was a rectilinear burial pit, 8.8 feet by 3.8 feet, excavated 2.7 feet into the original surface of the slope. The major axis was aligned from east by northeast to west by southwest, the deviation from a true east-west line being 21 degrees. The floor of the burial pit was nearly level, and at the junction with the side walls an angle of almost 90 degrees was formed. Yellowish subsoil removed from the pit had been deposited on three sides of the opening in a three to four inch layer resembling a floor rather than a rounded mass of earth as has been so frequently recorded.

Within the pit a number of burials had been disposed, but again, with the continued rodent activity of centuries, most of the burial remains had been redeposited as caches of bone scrap in various rodent burrows throughout the mound. Occasionally the skeletal material was found mixed with hickory nuts and other objects brought from the surface. Portions of three badly decayed long bones, found above the pit and only 3.8 feet below the summit of the mound, probably represented the remains of an intrusive bundle burial. Other skeletal materials, believed to have been found undisturbed, were portions of bundle burials in each end of the sub-floor pit. Skull fragments from the east burials indicated the presence of two adults, one cranium being particularly heavy. Remains in the west end of the pit were from an adult male and a small child. Oddly enough, though all burials seemed to be of the bundle type when sufficient material was found undis-



PLAN



MOUND NO. 57
EFFIGY MOUNDS NAT'L MON.

turbed, the distant end of a femur, the proximal end of a tibia, and a patella were found in anatomical position. Dr. Alton K. Fisher, State University of Iowa, after examination of both the bones and teeth recovered in the excavations, concluded that the remains of at least twelve were represented in the material. Of the twelve individuals, one was an infant, one a child about three years of age, one a child approximately six years of age, one an adolescent approximately twelve years of age, while the remaining eight were adults.

Aside from one small body sherd of grit tempered, plain pottery, three chert flakes bearing some evidence of handiwork, and about 20 pounds of chert spalls which may have been shop refuse or frost spalls from chert layers in the cliff near the site, the only artifact recovered was a breast-plate which was found near the center of the burial pit, less than one inch above the floor. Preserved by the copper salts on the upper surface of the ornament was a fragment of plain twined textile (see appendix A) with the weft occurring at intervals of 1.2 cm. (Figure 3, E.) Adhering to the under surface was a substance believed to have once been buckskin. Between this substance and the burial floor were several short sections of a child's ribs.

The breast-plate, measuring 9.0 cm. by 16.5 cm. and varying from 0.1 to 0.2 cm. in thickness, approached a rectangle in shape but with rounded corners and slightly convex sides and ends (Figure 3, F). Across the face of the copper plaque near each end were two straight parallel rows of closely spaced bosses which had been impressed by a sharp tool to leave corresponding depressions on the reverse face. Two holes for attachment, 3.2 cm. apart, were located 2.2 cm. below the top border. The breast-plate appears to be an unlaminated sheet of copper. Comparable plaques from Hopewellian sites across the Mississippi in western Wisconsin have been illustrated by McKern (1931).

Conclusion

The traits recovered from the two unvandalized mounds could be placed with almost equal facility in any one of the three Hopewellian foci proposed for this region, the Trem-

pealeau (McKern, 1931; McKern and Ritzenthaler, 1946) and Red Cedar (Cooper, 1933) of Wisconsin and the Nickerson (Bennett, 1945) focus of northwestern Illinois and eastern Iowa. Of the specific traits which have been listed for these foci and are shared by the Hopewellian mounds described at the Effigy Mounds National Monument, only the practice of cremation is specifically excluded from the Trempealeau focus though it is shared by the other two foci.

The radiocarbon date of 900 years before the present, plus or minus 300 years, invites comparison with radiocarbon dates published for sites of the Illinois and Ohio valleys which range from 1,951 to 2,336 years before the present (Johnson, 1951). The date obtained from Mound 55 would indicate that important Hopewell influences persisted on the northern periphery of the area a thousand years after being displaced in the Ohio and Illinois centers. This long time span is consistent with the variations reported from the Hopewellian mounds in the upper Mississippi Valley, and the significance and content of the Hopewellian foci as previously proposed should be reexamined in the light of this evidence. Bennett in his analysis of the Nickerson focus commented on "the random, overlapping trait-distribution so characteristic of Hopewellian burial components." (Bennett 1945, p. 117.) However, this "random overlapping distribution" may in part result from the practice of lumping together all mounds in one amorphous group and then constructing a composite trait list for the group. Keeping this in mind, it is understandable that Bennett came to the conclusion that the facts pointed toward a general contemporaneity of all Hopewellian manifestions (op. cit., p. 124). However, this conclusion runs counter to Bennett's own stress upon cultural dynamics as well as the more recent factual evidence of the radiocarbon dates. A more tenable methodological procedure would appear to be that applied by Baerreis (1949) in a recent analysis of Hopewellian traits in Wisconsin mounds. By itemizing the traits from individual mounds, it may be possible to detect a developmental sequence in the complex which may eventually fit the time span revealed by radiocarbon analysis.

Fig. 4. Detail of Textile found with Breastplate.

APPENDIX A

"I have examined the fabric-like material that you and Mr. Beaubien so carefully removed from the surface of a copper breastplate from Mound 57, Effigy Mounds, MacGregor, Iowa.

The fabric seems to be woven sheafs of fiber strips. The warp of the fabric appears, from all tests made thus far, to be composed of the phloem fibers (Bast fibers) of Basswood, **Tilia americana** L. The woof or weft is probably of the same species of fiber, though in some parts of the specimen, fibers of woof do not look like **Tilia.** The warp is a larger aggregate of strips than the woof (see diagram).

Determinations were made on the basis of comparison of the fibers of the specimen with known microscope slides or permanent mounts. Material from the specimen was stained in cotton blue, sudan IV, phloxine, and safranin. Each stain was used separately. Diameter measurements of the fiber cells and the lumen of the cells permitted comparison of cell size in the specimen and in known material from living basswood trees, extracting fibers, and fibers of various other plants such as **Dirca palustris, Urtica** sp, **Cannabis sativa** (Hemp) were made. Such measurements of fiber size did not prove to be a reliable criterion for identification in this instance because of the overlapping of size ranges.

There is no doubt that the fabric is woven and that the warp is the larger of the two threads composing the cloth. The thick, dark colored substrate upon which the fabric was attached was not investigated.

Sincerely yours,
ROBERT L. HULBARRY,
Dept. of Botany
State University of Iowa

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A NOTE ON A WINNEBAGO MEDICAL TECHNIQUE

David A. Baerreis

The manuscript collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin contain an album of Indian photographs and biographies prepared by Dr. Alphone Gerend, roughly between the years 1917 and 1935. Among the photographs in this album are several snapshots with the accompanying caption, "Indian women cutting roots for medicine." The associated text states that the phoographs were taken during a visit to the Winnebago settlement on Black River near Black River Falls, Wisconsin, in September, 1923. Although the photographs do not permit even a tentative identification of the nature of the plants being processed for use, the descriptive account of the visit does add some information to the available body of knowledge concerning Winnebago medical practices. In particular, since Dr. Gerend was a medical practioner, we have a precision of description that is often lacking in such accounts. Dr. Gerend's account of the visit is recorded in his unpublished album as follows:

"On that occasion the chief Frank Mike led us to a tent a short distance away from where these women were working. Lying on a mat placed on the bare ground in the center of the tent lay a young stalwart Indian. He was very ill suffering from some abdominal ailment. He suffered pain though his stoic features did not betray it. The abdomen of this sick man was much distended.

"Squatting on the ground beside him was an Indian woman attempting to mitigate his suffering and according to her conception assist in his recovery. This she did in the following manner: With a rather sharp pocket knife she had made many shallow incisions into the skin in two areas of the abdomen. Each area was about 2¼ inches in diameter and entirely filled in by many parellel wellmarked incisions about ¼ inch long.

"One of these areas was in the right iliac region about where the appendix is usually situated and the other some distance below the sternum in the epigastric region.

"On a rude stand was a dish containing a powder made from roots probably the same kind as the woman shown in the

photograph were cutting. This powder the Indian woman rubbed into the two circular areas.

"The young Indian's condition was very serious. His abdomen was swollen and hard. We offered to convey the Indian to a hospital. The chief translated our offer to the assembled Indians but after some deliberation our offer was rejected. They stated that the Indian's sister was in the marsh picking cranberries and before her return nothing could be done. We then notified the nearest Government Indian Agency about this case. Several weeks later we were informed the Indian had died.

"The Indian's name was Thunder-Chief."

Of particular interest in this account is the description of the use of an area of shallow incisions upon which powdered or pulverized roots or herbs were sprinkled. In general, relatively little information is available concerning such specific medical practices among the American Indians since curing is not solely a secular occupation, but is frequently part of a religious ritual whose details may only be revealed to the initiated. However, for the northern Mississippi valley a number of studies concerning medical practices are available so that it is possible to get some conception of the distribution of such a practice as area incision coupled with treatment of plant material. It may be of interest to present the preliminary results of a survey of some of the literature in this field. If we are able to determine that some practices are generally present in a particular linguistic or cultural group during the historic period, we may reasonably argue that the practices were probably also present in the prehistoric archeological manifestations that are related to the historic group. In particular, if we are able to determine that specific equipment or paraphernalia is associated with a given practice, we then have an important technique by which the often enigmatic specimens found at an archaeological site may be interpreted.

One of the important and relatively early sources that contain information on the Indians of this region is the six volume work published by Henry R. Schoolcraft at Philadelphia

between 1851 and 1857 under the title, "Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States." Included in these volumes are the responses to questionnaires sent to people who resided among various Indian tribes. They consist of a series of descriptive accounts of varying merit, but all are based upon firsthand acquaintance with the tribes involved. One of these papers, "Dacotas of the Mississippi," is concerned with the Dakota Indians in Minnesota. It was written by Thomas S. Williamson, M. D. and appeared in Volume I, pp. 247-258. Some information on medical practices appears in the report.

"Some of the Medicine-men of the Dacotas rely entirely on conjuring . . . . Others use various remedies, the most common of which is scarifying the neighborhood of the pain, to which, after he has drawn what blood he can by sucking with his mouth, they sometimes apply tobacco, red pepper, or the pulverized root or bark of some of their native plants, among which is the pyrethrum, or pellitory of Spain. . . . For pain in the head they scarify the temples."

A more recent study, "Uses of Plants by the Indians of the Missouri River Region," by Melvin R. Gilmore published in the Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1919) contains mention of practices more similar to that described by Dr. Gerend for the Winnebago. Dr. Gilmore says of the plant **Chamaesyce serpyllifolia** (Small),

"An Omaha informant said it was used as a remedy in case of dysentry and abdominal bloating in children. For this purpose the leaves of the plants were dried and pulverized and applied after first cross-hatching the abdomen with a knife and then further abrading the skin with the head of a certain plant, the identity of which I do not know at present as I have not had a sample. Then the pulverized leaves were rubbed by hand on the abraded surface. It was said to cause a painful, smarting sensation and to act powerfully upon the bowels through the intervening tissues and to give relief" (Gilmore, 1919, p. 99).

A similar practice is also described by Dr. Gilmore as being

used in conjunction with **Ambrosia elatior** L. (Ragweed).

"White Horse, an Omaha medicine-man, said that this plant was an Oto remedy for nausea. In the treatment the surface of the abdomen of the patient was first scarified and a dressing of the bruised leaves was laid thereon" (Gilmore, 1919, p. 132).

It is difficult to be certain from this last statement whether we have here documentation for the practice of area scarification combined with herbal treatment among the Oto or whether this is another instance of the manner in which it is used among the Omaha. All of the tribes mentioned up to this point do speak a Siouan language which might lead one to suspect that it is a cultural practice associated with this particular group. However, the somewhat deviant material from the Dakota also suggests that it may simply be a variant and localized technique derived frim a more widely distributed means of bloodletting. A single quotation will serve to illustrate this practice as it has been reported among the Chippewa Indians by Frances Densmore in her report, "Uses of Plants by the Chippewa Indians," which appeared in pp. 277-397 of the Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1926-27 (1928).

"A surgical treatment in common use consisted in cutting small gashes from which a small amount of blood was removed. These gashes were formerly made with a piece of sharp flint, but in later times a piece of thick glass is carefully broken so as to leave a sharp splinter, which is used for this purpose. This is kept in a leather shield or covering, and is used as a lancet according to the general use of that instrument. These cuts might be made in various parts of the body. The writer saw a woman whose elbow had been cut with 15 or 20 gashes about a quarter of an inch long. This treatment was given for a sprain, her elbow having swollen to twice its natural size. The most common of this treatment was for headache, as described below, but it was used for any inflammation. A remedy for the bite of a snake was administered in this manner, the plant being identified as **Plantago major** L.

"In connection with the incisions above described there was a small horn if the treatment was for a headache. In this treatment about six very short, deep incisions were made on the temples with the flint or glass, after which the doctor placed the large end of the horn over the incisions and applied his mouth to the smaller end, sucking until the blood came to the surface. He then quickly removed his lips from the horn, placed his finger over the small end of the horn and lowered it so that the blood would run into it. When enough had been removed he wiped the skin and applied a healing medicine, as noted above, or some remedy for headache, or he might place a moist compress or "grease" over the cuts. This cutting of the temples was also used for inflammation of the eyes." (Densmore, 1928, pp. 332-333).

Paraphernalia such as that associated with the Chippewa treatment would appear to be most likely preserved in an archaeological context and readily identified so far as its function is concerned. But it is quite probable that a systematic search of ethnological literature would reveal many additional items that would be of assistance in archaeological interpretation.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE HELLER MOUND GROUP

Chandler W. Rowe

During the Fall of 1947 excavation was begun on a group of seven effigy mounds located on a small rise overlooking Lake Winnebago. These mounds (Fig. 1) are situated on the farm of Mr. E. C. Heller on the east side of Lake Winnebago, one mile north of Stockbridge Harbor, Calumet County, Wisconsin. The group was brought to the writer's attention by Dr. William F. Read of the Geology department at Lawrence College. So far as can be determined, no mention of this particular mound group appears in the literature. The author had been looking for a suitable site on which to instruct students in archeological techniques and these mounds seemed ideal. Parts of mounds 1, 2, 3 and 4 had already been destroyed and it was known that the operations would be resumed in late summer or early fall, probably destroying other mounds in the group. As a matter of fact, gravel was taken out between the time of the survey (August, 1947) and the beginning of excavations (October, 1947). At this time mound 5, a large panther, was completely removed by the rock crusher and a burial went through the machinery before it could be stopped. Consequently, it seemed essential that work be undertaken here in order that as much information as possible be saved.

Mound 3, a panther mound measuring 275 feet in length, was also in danger of being destroyed as the gravel operations had been started along side of it. Since this mound could be excavated before the gravel work reached it and since it could be finished before cold weather halted investigations, mound 3 was chosen as the starting place. Mounds 6 and 7 did not seem to be in immediate danger.

Mr. E. C. Heller has been extremely kind and cooperative during tht entire time that archeological investigations have been carried on on his property and the writer wishes to extend his thanks and appreciation.

METHOD AND PROCEDURE

The mound was staked out by means of a grid system em-

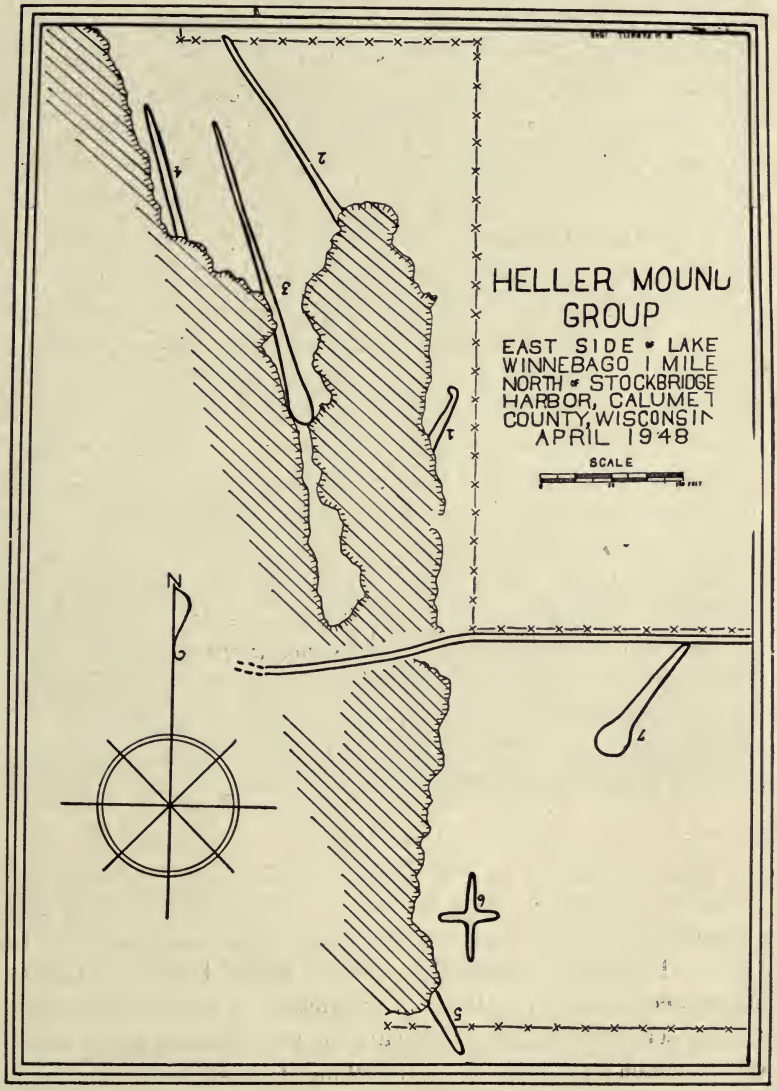

Fig. 1. Heller Mound group

ploying five foot squares and a datum plane was established about the level of the mound. The main axis of the grid system ran north and south. The first exploratory trench was run in at right angles to the central axis, or in an east-west direction. Later a north-south trench along the central axis joined the initial one. All material found in excavation was located horizontally by means of the grid system and vertically through use of the datum plane. No obvious stratigraphy was noted.

CULTURAL MATERIAL

Very little cultural material was found in the mound fill. Only five potsherds were recovered, these being the most common type of pottery found in Wisconsin. They correspond to what McKern has designated as Type 1 pottery for the Neale and McClaughry mound groups. [1]

No stone artifacts were found, and only one piece of worked bone was recovered. The latter is a small splinter which has been ground down to a point at one end and appears to be an awl.

With the single burial was found a pair of deer antlers attached to the fragmentary frontal bone of a deer skull. There are no signs of the bone or antlers being worked aside from the breaking away of the remainder of the skull. The antlers were found lying across the tibiae of the burial.

BURIALS

The remains of one burial (Fig. 2) was found and this occurred in the mound fill rather than in a sub-mound pit or on the mound floor itself. Careful checking failed to reveal any evidence of intrusion of a burial pit into the mound and consequently the burial is regarded as being included in the fill at the time of mound building. Aside from the antlers mentioned above, no artifacts or pottery was found in association with the burial. The skelton was not complete. Only the fragmentary skull, femora, tibiae, two vertebrae, one rib,

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[1] McKern, W. C., **The Neale and McClaughry Mound Groups,** Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 3, No. 3, Dec. 1, 1928, p. 266.

Fig. 2. Burial with Deer Antlers.

left ulna, left fibula and the left half of the pelvis were recovered. Extensive rodent activity may account in part for the fragmentary condition of the remains. The burial represents the remains of a 19 year old female.

A hole appears in each femur near the distal end and one shows signs of cutting with a knife-like implement. Whether these holes or punctures were broken in before burial by human agency or occurred due to other causes after burial has not been determined.

Two seasons later mound 6, a bird effigy, was excavated before gravel operations could destroy it. Very little informa-

tion was obtained. Three rim sherds of the same pottery type mentioned above were recovered and a fragment of deer jaw with the teeth intact. No evidence of a burial was found. Of considerable interest was a large clay dome-like structure similar to one found in mound 42 of the Raisbeck Group by McKern.[2] This dome ran through the center of the mound parallel to the log axis of the body of then bird. The clay was hard and appeared to have been partially burned.

Plans are being made to excavate mound 7 during the coming fall months.

Lawrence College

April 25, 1953

[2] McKern, W. C., Unpublished field notes, 1929.

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Golden Anniversary

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New Series

MILWAUKEE, WIS., SEPTEMBER, 1953

THE AIRPORT VILLAGE SITE, DANE COUNTY (Da2) [1]

David A. Baerreis

Combined Federal Highways 12 and 18 leaving Madison pass through relatively flat but high land immediately south of Lake Monona and west of the Yahara River. The flat terrain made the region quite suitable for the location of the Royal Airport, the former occupant of the land since purchased as a potential industrial site by the Gisholt Company of Madison. South and east of this flat land is a marshy area which extends to the Yahara River and suggests the presence at some time in the past, perhaps not too distant, of a shallow lake. Even the present condition presents many advantages to aboriginal occupation. A good supply of fish is available close at hand. In addition, birds and probaly wild rice would make the area a desirable habitation zone. In confirmation of this, plowed fields have revealed to surface collectors an abundance of flint chips, the waste product of the fabrication of innumerable chipped stone implements, as well as many finished specimens. Because of this encouraging evidence, testing operations were conducted at the site with a group of University of Wisconsin students in 1948 and further excavations were made in the summer of 1949 by a Wisconsin Summer School field party. Permission to conduct these excavations was freely granted by Mr. L. R. Wuilleumier of the Royal Airport and by the First National Bank of Madison, acting as trustee for the estate then holding title to the land. The

[1] The analysis of the material presented in this paper, as well as other archeological collections from the Madison area, was made possible by a grant from the Research Committee of the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin

collection obtained in the excavations is small but the intrinsic importance of the material makes a report on the site desirable.

It is probable that the Airport Site is the same site referred to by C. E. Brown in his Lake Monona report as the "Nine Springs Marsh Site" (Brown, 1922, pp. 154-156), located in the NW ¼ of Section 29, Blooming Grove Township. Some of the features encountered by Brown are of interest, particularly since the remains are no longer visible.

> "On the northern edge of this marsh, on the south side of the Monona road and across this road from the Griffith farm site, evidences of a former camp site are found in a small cultivated field. . . . In the rear of this is a small tract of woodland. In this grove of oak and other trees is a line of three circular earthworks separated from each other by distances of 15 and 16 feet. The two larger, at either end of the line, are each 18 feet in diameter and the central one 14 feet in diameter. The low earthen circles are from 4 to 5 feet in width and are from 6 to 9 inches high. The pits in the center are from 6 to 8 feet in diameter and from about one to 1½ feet in depth. A second cluster of three similar circles is located near the edge of the marsh. These are 12 and 15 feet in diameter. On October 30, 1922, most of these circles were excavated by the writer and Mr. T. T. Brown, and digging being carried down in each case for one or several feet into undisturbed clay soil. No hearth stones or indications of fire were found in any of these. Their purpose must therefore remain in doubt. They certainly are not wigwam or sweat lodge sites, neither are they of sufficient depth for use as food caches. They may be the sites of corn storehouses." (Brown, 1922, p. 155)

It is possible that these depressions were designed for the thrashing or storage of wild rice rather than corn.

The small grove of trees is still present and it is within this area that the recent excavations were conducted. Immediately adjacent to the marsh is a narrow ridge of land having a height of about 2.5' above the present marsh level. On top

of the ridge was a deposit containing cultural material in a zone reaching a thickness of sixteen inches, though rarely does the material exceed a depth of 12 inches. Below that a grey, fine-textured soil with light mottling from humus is present and continues for another five to six inches. The base of this zone is yellow clay of much the same texture. The color changes are not abrupt, a gradual transition being found from one to the other.

Stakes were placed on the ridge at five foot intervals and each of the five foot squares thus formed was numbered. The deposit was removed in four inch levels, following surface contours, the surface of the excavated area being relatively level. The purpose of the excavation in arbitrary levels was, of course, to detect any possible change in the type of specimens found. Those found in the lower levels would antedate material found in the upper levels since a gradual accumulation of the soil is assumed. An area of 115 square feet was excavated.

Cultural remains tended to be confined to the soil of darker color mentioned above, the yellow clay being sterile. Occasional angular blocks of stone were encountered, suggesting that possibly they had been fire cracked, but not in sufficient numbers to delimit a hearth area. No animal bone or shell was present in the excavated squares. Such material, if originally present, had conpletely decomposed. A limited series of chipped stone artifacts, a few small fragmeits of pottery, and a relatively numerous series of flint chips were found in the deposit. Many of the chipped stone implements also appear to be fire cracked, indicating that they may once have been in close proximity to hearths or other fires. These specimens are described below and their position, so far as vertical depth is concerned, is given in tabular form.

Cultural Material

The artifacts found in the excavated deposit and the typological categories in which they are placed are described in the following section. It should be stressed that the typological categories are based upon an analysis of a larger series of specimens from this region and not solely upon the limited

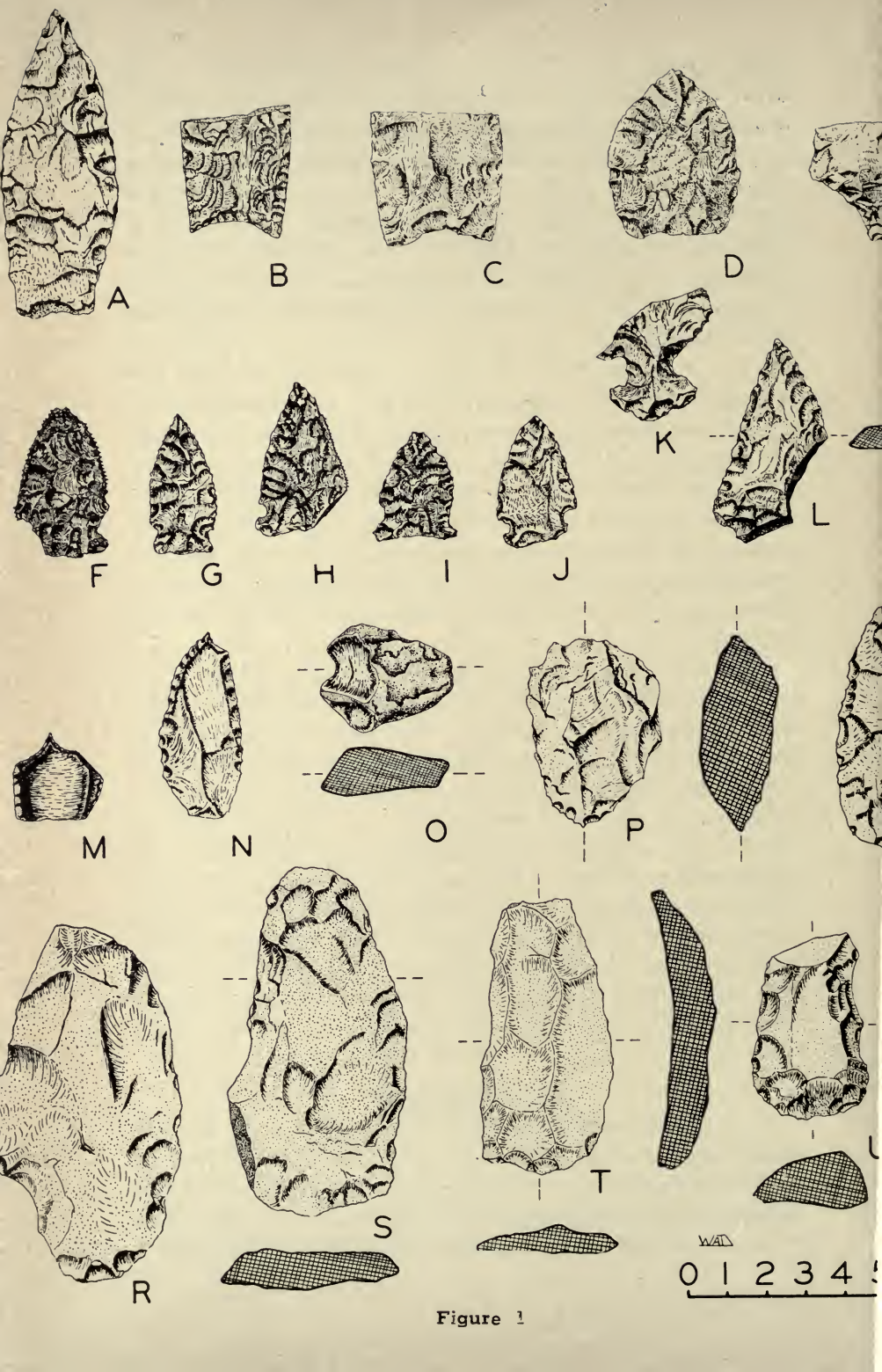

Figure 1

collection from this site. The possibility of the segregation of distinct complexes on typological grounds and through an analysis of the vertical distribution of the specimens is considered in the summary and discussion which follows the descriptive material.

Work in Chipped Stone

A total of 34 projectile points and projectile point fragments were recovered in the excavations. Fifteen of these are body fragments that can not be identified as to type while the remainder, either portions of basal fragments or unbroken, fall into several quite distinct form categories.

A group of four projectile points falls in a lanceolate shape category. One specimen (Fig. 1, B), manufactured from a white chert, bears delicate and precise pressure flaking on both faces. The base is markedly concave, this feature being produced by steep retouching on both faces. The base and the entire length (35 mm.) of the sides of the fragmentary point bear a pronounced grinding or smoothing. The width of the point increases from the base to the region at which it is broken (maximum width 28 mm.) with a slight indication that at this area it begins to contract in width but it is difficult to speak with precision on the total shape characteristics. The maximum thickness of the point is 7 mm.. The remaining lanceolate points lack the basal grinding of the preceding point, in general show less precision and delicacy in flaking technique and are also divergent in proportions. One unbroken point (Figure 1, A), also of white chert but with grey inclusions, has a straight base which is slightly irregular at one corner with its point of maximum width at the midpoint of the specimen. The size and proportions of this specimen (length 81 mm.; width 31 mm.; thickness 8 mm.) tend to be long and slender compared to the remaining two. An unbroken specimen (Figure 1, D), again of white chert similar to the preceding artifact, is proportionately short and broad (length 44 mm.; width, 33 mm.; thickness 9 mm.). It is possible that this speciment is a broken point that has been retouched but no color differences in the flake scars are observable and in terms of shape, the midpoint of the speci-

men is again the area of maximum width. The basal area is straight. The last specimen in this general category (Figure 1, C) is fragmentary but the maximum width (34 mm.) is comparable to the preceding form. The material from which the point is manufactured is quite distinct from that of the preceding specimens, consisting of a finely mottled grey and white chert with larger areas of salmon colored mottling. The base is concave and the sides expand in width from the base to the area at which the point is broken. The thickness of the specimen is 8 mm..

A deviant form, which is perhaps still to be regarded as in the same general category as the preceding specimens, is represented by the projectile point fragment (Figure 1, E) which appears to have a strongly recurved body outline and a straight base. The specimen is manufactured from a grey-white chert and has a maximum width of 26 mm. and a thickness of 9 mm..

Nine of the remaining projectile points and projectile point fragments appear to represent a single point type (Figure 1, F through J). Since this type has a wide distribution in Woodland components in the Madison area, it has seemed desirable to give the type a name and it is refered to in this report as **Madison Side Notched.** The major characteristics of this type, as it is found at the Airport Site, as follows. The stem is produced by a U-shaped notch inserted at a right angle to the long axis of the point. This notch is placed quite close to the basal area so that the actual stem length is relatively short. The body outline is convex or more rarely nearly straight and the body frequently bears very fine serrations. The stem tends to be as wide or slightly wider than the body though in a few points there is a decrease in width at this point. The basal area is straight with a slight tendency to be either concave or convex. The points are finished by precise pressure flaking and the materials consist primarily of a dark grey chert, though one was of a mottled grey color. It is interesting to note that the material used for these points is quite distinct from that used for the lanceolate points described above. The measureable sample of

Madison Side Notched at the Airport Site is too small to reveal the full range for the type and on the whole these are somewhat smaller than most of the points placed in the category. The range in dimensions for the five nearly intact specimens are: length 29-42 mm., mean 36.8 mm.; width 17-25 mm., mean 21.8 mm.; and thickness 4-8 mm., mean 6.4 mm..

Three projectile point fragments had a stem which contracted gently toward a rounded or irregular base. The stem continued a concave curvature to the shoulder area. The points may be placed in a typological category, **Waubesa Contracting Stem**, which has been established for points in this region with a stem of this form. Another projectile point fragment is distinctive in appearance (Figure 1, K) having very broad U-shaped notches which produce a long slender stem which flared abruptly toward the base. Two fragments of projectile point blades add an additional feature to the complex in having a marked alternate bevel on opposite faces. One of the blade fragments with a bevel is illustrated (Figure 1, L).

An unexpected find at the site, the first to be reported from Wisconsin, are two specimens that may be classed as gravers. One specimen (Figure 1, M) has the graver tip produced on a short, broad blade. It will be noted in the illustration that a channel flake runs down the center of this implement and that the sides and end bearing the graver tip are retouched with fine pressure flaking. The obverse face consists of a single flake scar. The graver tip itself is 4 mm. in length and it should be stressed that this small projecting tip is produced by pressure retouching from one face only so that one face of the graver tip is a plane surface while the other is convex. This characteristic is, therefore, shared with the gravers of early complexes such as Folsom. It is not simply a diminuitive drill tip, this type implement being formed by retouching from both faces. The maximum dimensions of the specimen are: length, 23 mm.; width, 24 mm.; and thickness, 4 mm.. The material from which the graver was manufactured was a red chert with fine grey mottling. The second graver (Figure 1, N) had a tip which was formed on the end of a

long flake. The flake bore two longitudinal primary flakes on one face and a single flake scar on the obverse face. Since the striking platform is present at the base of the implement, it was obviously a flake trimmed from a rather large core. The long edges of the flake as well as the end immediately adjacent to the graver tip bear fine pressure retouching. The graver tip, formed in a manner similar to the first specimen, projects a distance of 4 mm.. The maximum dimensions of the specimen are: length, 47 mm.; width, 22 mm.; and thickness, 6 mm.. The material from which it was manufactured was a white and grey mottled chert.

Two of the specimens in the scraper group are classified as concave edge scrapers though somewhat different concepts of form are represented. One specimen (Figure 1, O) is formed on fractured chert pebble material. Steep flaking is present on one end of the specimen and on this prepared edge a notch 8 mm. in width has been produced by pressure flaking and perhaps usage. The dimensions of the specimen are: length, 36 mm.; width, 29 mm.; and thickness, 14 mm.. The second concave edge scraper is manufactured on a thick spall of grey chert. One long edge of this specimen, 25 mm. in length, is gently concave and bears fine pressure retouching. The dimensions of the specimen are: length, 54 mm.; width, 24 mm.; and thickness, 13 mm.. Both of the scrapers in this group would be admirably suited for the smoothing of wood and bone artifacts, but the first, in particular, could well serve to dress wooden dart or arrow shafts.

End scrapers are represented by three specimens. One (Figure 1, U) is manufactured from a mottled grey and white chert. The unmodified end is formed by a striking platform and immediately adjacent to it is the bulb of percussion. The latter combined with broad ripple flakes give the ventral surface the marked recurved shape in cross section on the single flake scar of which it is composed. The flake itself is quite thick (14 mm.) and the long edges and end are shaped by both pressure and percussion flaking. The maximum length is 47 mm. and the width, 28 mm.. A second end scraper (Figure 1, T) is manufactured of a grey quartzite. It may be

because of the nature of the material, but it is impossible to determine the location of the striking platform. However, as in the previous specimen, the ventral surface is formed by a single flake scar and a marked curvature is present. The dorsal surface bears a number of percussion flake scars, perhaps designed to thin the specimen. The long edges are retouched on the legth side of the dorsal surface shown in the illustration and on the opposite surface on the right side. The end, of course, bears the steep scraper retouch. The dimensions are: length, 72 mm.; width, 34 mm.; and thickness, 12 mm.. The third end scraper is a fragment consisting simply of the scraping end of a similar type of implement although the dorsal surface bears a cortex indicating the source of the primary flake was a pebble.

The appearance of one specimen (Figure 1, S) initially suggested ahat it might be classified as a side scraper because of the presence of an area of steep retouch along one side. Further consideration, however, has indicated that this specimen and a blade-like form (Figure 1, R) might well be classified as a specialized knife type. According to this interpretation the steep scraper-like retouching would be simply designed to blunt the edge which is the back of the knife. The opposite long edge would be the cutting edge, the general form of the knife resembling the Eskimo woman's knife or ulu. In the first specimen mentioned (Figure 1, S) the one long edge with the steep retouching mentioned also has a smaller section which is either a striking platform or a straight side of the original flake. This area has had no further modification. The opposite long edge bears the primary retouching on one face, but with some contributory flakes from the opposite face, so that the edge tapers to a sharpened cutting edge. The dimensions of the specimen are: length, 91 mm.; width, 46 mm.; and thickness, 12 mm.. The second specimen (Figure 1, R) similarly has one long edge composed of a thick, unmodified segment and the remainder only roughly dressed. The specimen tapers in thickness from this edge to the opposite long edge which is trimmed to a cutting edge from both faces. The dimensions of the specimen are: length, 93

mm.; width, 52 mm.; and thickness, 15 mm.. Both specimens are generally ovate in outline and manufactured from a grey-white chert.

Two additional specimens are classified as knives since both are carefully finished forms but the lack of an adequate series prevents the development of a sound typology. One speciment is illustrated (Figure 1, Q) and is a pointed ovate form manufactured from a reddish chert. In cross section it is markedly plano-convex and the broad end is turned like a scraping form though there is no indication of such a function in terms of usage marks. The dimensions are: 69 x 34 x 13 mm. The second specimen, of grey chert, is also pointed ovate in outline and somewhat less pronouncedly plano-convex. It differs from the first in that the butt end is formed by a straight fracture. The dimensions of this specimen are: 61 x 29 x 11 mm..

A somewhat miscellaneous category of five implements are classified as core knives or scrapers. One example, shaped primarily by percussion flaking, is illustrated (Figure 1, P). They could serve equally well as scraping or cutting tools but only for cruder operations. The group represents a series of small implements, the range in dimensions being from 38 x 24 x 12 mm. to 49 x 36 x 18 mm.. Six small fragments are unclassified and could have been portions of any of the three preceding categories.

The deposit also contained a total of 893 flint chips and larger flakes. Some of the smal flakes bore retouching or usage marks of a character that has been described in Wisconsin material in a paper by Robert Nero (Nero, 1948).

Work in Ground or Pecked Stone

The sole artifact in this category is a roughly cylindrical pebble which bears usage marks on both ends indicating that it has been utilized as a hammer stone, probably in flint knapping (Figure 2, A). The specimen is quite small and has dimensions of 68 x 39 x 28 mm.. The material is a fine textured but well consolidated material such as a shale.

Pottery

After broken sections were mended a total of 11 sherds were

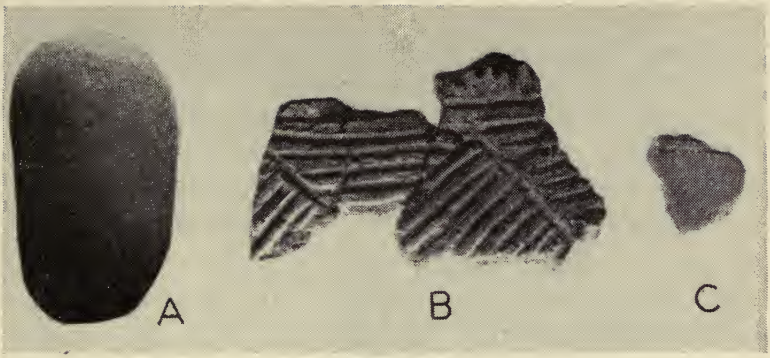

Figure 2

recovered from the deposit. Of these only four of the sherds have a maximum dimension that exceeds two centimeters, the remaining sherds actually being extremely small fragments. It is perhaps this small size that prevented the fitting together of pieces since a comparison of paste, color and surface finish indicates that at best sherds from not more than five vessel sections could be present, and probably only three.

Two sherds, obviously from a single vessel, bear a distinctive decoration of closely incised lines over a cord roughened surface (Figure 2, B). The paste is compact with fine grit temper (between 1-3 mm. in size). The color of the core is an intense black with a grey-black interior and exterior color. The sherd is a section of the rim, slanting inward slightly, but with the lip of the vessel missing. Thickness ranges from 9 mm. at the basal section of the sherd to 6 mm. which is evidently close to the lip. The exterior surface was cord-roughened and then covered with incised lines spaced from 2-3 mm. apart. The arrangement of the decoration consisted of a series of vertical lines at the upper rim area with opposed triangular areas of incised lines on the lower rim region. The sherd is obviously related to the incised pottery found in Illinois and would appear to be more closely related to the type Black Sand Incised of the Early Woodland period (Griffin, 1952, pp. 98-100) though some divergence is shown from the sherds at present illustrated.

The remaining sherds are body sherds with a cord-roughened exterior. Surface and core colors tend to be somewhat lighter than the previous type and temper is more abundant

and coarser resulting in a sandier texture. The range in wall thickness is between 8 and 11 mm.. One sherd bears a single incised line at the edge of the sherd (Figure 2, C). The material is obviously so indeterminate in character that classification as to type is impossible.

Summary and Interpretation

The amount of cultural material recovered at the Airport Site is admittedly relatively slight though abundant in relation to the area excavated. However, it has been regarded as an important and key site because of the presence of speci-

Table 1. Summary and Vertical Distribution of Artifacts from Da2 According to Four Inch Level

	Level					Unknown*	Total
	1	2	3	4	5		
Projectile Points:							
Lanceolate point with basal grinding		1					1
Lanceolate point, no grinding		3					3
Point with recurved blade		1					1
Madison Side Notched	2	1	4			2	9
Waubesa Contracting Stem		1	2				3
Point with broad side notch	1						1
Beveled blade fragments		2					1
Indeterminate blade fragments		5	4	1		3	13
Gravers		1	1				2
Concave edge scrapers		1			1		2
End scrapers		1	1			1	3
Ulu-like knives		1	1				2
Knives, pointed ovate shape		1	1				2
Small core knives or scrapers	1	2	1				4
Intermediate fragments		4	1			1	6
Flint chips and larger flakes	39	623	223	7	1		893
Hammerstone				1			1
Pottery:							
Black Sand Incised		2					2
Cord-roughened body sherds	2	6	1				9
TOTAL	45	656	240	9	2	7	959

* Specimens of "Unknown" depth were recovered from the excavated fill or their location was otherwise disturbed.

men types not previously recorded for sites in the Madison area. A summary of the materials found and their vertical distribution is presented in Table 1.

The interpretation of the cultural remains at the Airport Site presents a difficult problem because this is the only site having a number of distinctive artifacts such as lanceolate points and gravers that has been excavated in this area, yet many of the other artifact types are shared with other complexes. The basic problem may be resolved into a question as to whether the deposit of artifact bearing material represents the occupation of a single group of people over a relatively short period or whether it represents a more gradual accumulation over a longer period of time where peoples of diverse cultural affiliation camped for short intervals at the site. The vertical distribution of artifacts does not provide a clear cut answer to the question since there is no clear segregation of the distinctive artifact types according to depth. This does not resolve the answer in favor of the presence of a single complex because under some conditions the vertical accumulation of the deposit may have proceeded very slowly. Perhaps the best manner in which the question could be answered would be through the discovery of a similar association of artifact types at other sites in the area, but this must await further excavation. At present we can only indicate several alternative explanations and suggest what seems to be the most proble one.

On typological grounds the assemblage of artifacts could be sorted into two groups. The lanceolate points and the gravers are forms which most commonly are found under conditions suggesting considerable antiquity and represent in some area a Paleo-Indian type of assemblage. The fact that the lanceolate points, in contrast to the others, are of white chert tends to support such a segregation. The pottery and the stemmed and notched points suggest an Early Woodland type of assemblage, the one sherd in particular suggesting a relationship to material of the Black Sand Focus of Illinois. The scraper types have changed so little in time that these are not particularly useful as time or cultural markers unless they are more

specialized in shape or method of manufacture. However, this sharp distinction between a Paleo-Indian type of assemblage and that of the Early Woodland cultures appears to be breaking down in the transitional cultures of the Archaic Period that are now being discovered in the northern Mississippi valley. In particular, we may direct attention to two Archaic assemblages that have recently been discovered in Illinois. The first of these is the Faulkner Component based upon a midden excavated by Richard MacNeish in the bottom lands of the Ohio River in Massac County, Illinois (MacNeish, 1948; Cole and others, 1951, pp. 211-225). The Faulkner Component shows a far stronger affiliation with more easterly sites of the Eastern Archaic than with local sites in having greater diversity of chipped stone types plus a ground and polished stone complex lacking at the Airport Site. Of particular interest is the presence of what are designated "concave-based points" and "large triangular points" together with a series of gravers. The gravers in particular, but the two point types as well, would appear from the illustrations to be much cruder artifacts than the similar categories from the Airport Site. However, these elements are only a small portion of an assemblage which in its other details shows little similarity to the Airport Site except that other point types including Madison Side Notched are present. Of far greater importance, from a comparative point of view, is a non-pottery complex found below the ceramic levels of the midden deposits present on the top of Starved Rock in LaSalle County, northern Illinois. This complex has been described by William J. Mayer-Oakes and designated the Starved Rock Archaic (Mayer-Oakes, 1951). The Starved Rock Archaic has a much simlified series of artifact types compared to the Faulkner Component and an outstanding feature is the presence of an important and numerically dominant series of lanceolate points. A crude graver form is also present, notched points comparable to Madison Side Notched and some blades which suggest comparisons with the ulu-like knives of the Airport Site. There are, however, a number of distinctive traits such as drills which point to basic differences between the two sites.

A comparison with other Archaic components, therefore, suggests the strong possibility that the lanceolate points, gravers and other implement types including Madison Side Notched points may be part of a single complex of the Archaic Period. The presence of two projectile point fragments with a beveled blade represents another trait commonly found on an Archaic time level. This feature, however, is not reported for the Archaic components in Illinois. Despite this, we can not ignore the fact that the site was occupied at least sporadically into the Early Woodland period. This fact is demonstrated by the presence of a few pottery fragments at the site. However, the very scarcity of ceramic material in proportion to chipped stone materials suggests a tapering off, or more sporadic occupation in periods subsequent to the Archaic.

Conclusions

In a recent summary of culture periods in eastern United States archaeology (Griffin, 1952), James B. Griffin has suggested the division of the Archaic into an Early and Late Period. The major differentiating criteria of the Late Archaic substage is the appearance of various implements produced in polished stone as well as the fabrication of an elaborate series of copper tools in some regions. A plausible interpretation of the Airport Site is that the bulk of the chipped stone tools are to be placed in this Early Archaic Period. The Starved Rock Archaic is similarly regarded as a manifestation of this same period. The Airport Site is therefore regarded as antedating the other known Archaic complex in Wisconsin, Old Copper, which would be placed in the late Archaic Period.

The mode of life characteristic of the early occupation of the Airport Site is probably best understood in terms of environment conditions, to which only a nomadic mode of life was suited. The earliest occupation probably ranges around 2,000 B. C., a time during which gradually warming conditions prevailed bringing about vegetational changes. The few sherds of an Early Woodland occupation which may represent the terminal occupation in the area excavated, suggest a changing exploitation of food resources. If the pits described

by Charles E. Brown as being present at the site are associated with wild rice harvesting, perhaps this is a new food resource being exploited seasonally by some Early Woodland groups.

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THE SPRINGDALE MOUNDS

Dr. E. G. Bruder

The Dane County Park Commission and Supervisors C. A. Sorenson and Ed. Smith, requested that the Wisconsin Archeological Society assist them in surveying these large mounds in Sprindale Township.

The earliest known reference to these mounds is found in the "History of Madison" published by W. J. Park and Co., in Madison 1877. They are located in the Town of Springdale T 6N-R 7 E, Dane County, Wisconsin. Two years later Charles H. Lewis described them as "four mounds, 50 feet base diameter, 6 feet high, 50 feet apart, extending east and west,—commencing at a distance of 50 feet from the most eastern, (No. 4 conical on map), and extending in a direct line eastward,—is a low ridge, 100 feet in length, 4 feet high, and 6 feet wide. They are located on a high ridge, covered with a luxuriant growth of young trees. The view from these mounds is very unusual, and extends to all points of the compass." [1] The prehistoric people certainly appreciated beautiful views, and wherever possible selected these high vantage areas for their final resting place. He also mentioned four groups of mounds, and several work shops near Mount Vernon, about 3 miles due south.

Three of these conical mounds were opened in 1870, by Chas. H. Lewis, of the Town of Springdale. He found "well preserved skeletons, stone pipes of curious work, stoneknives, some highly polished and perforated pieces of bone, and many stone implement, the use of which is now unknown." [2]

On August 30, 1952, with the help of Mr. C. A. Sorenson, Chairman of the Board of Supervisors, we surveyed these mounds. Many years of cultivation changed the shape of these four conical mounds, and almost destroyed the long linear. Wisconsin State Highways 18 and 151, in passing to the east of these mounds, follow the general direction of the ancient trail, and the later territorial road. The prehistoric people avoided direct passage thru their sacred grounds and earthen monuments.

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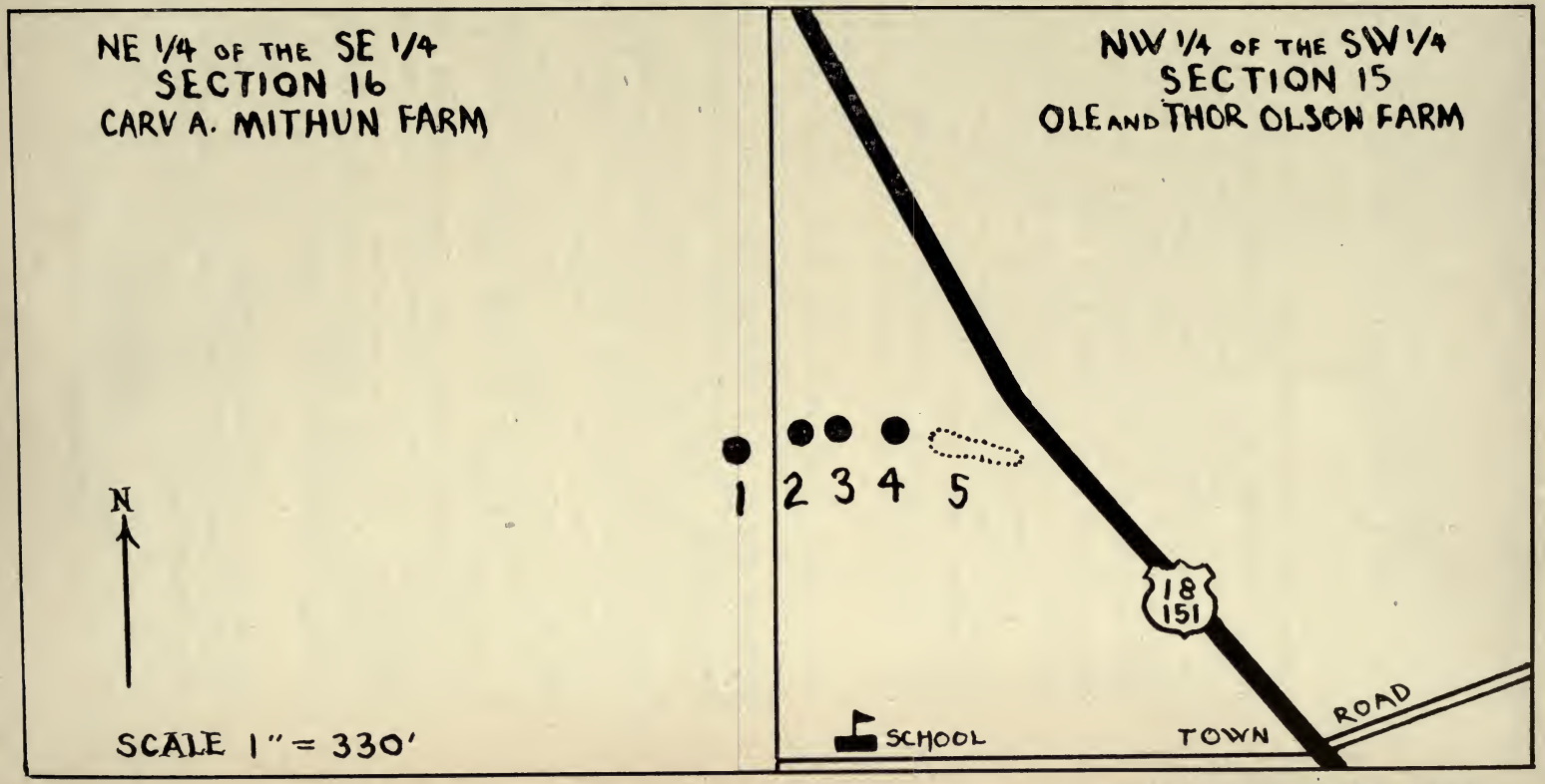
[1] Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report of 1879, p. 434.
[2]. History of Madison, W. J. Park and Co. (Pub.), 1877.

THE SPRINGDALE MOUNDS
T6N-R7E SPRINGDALE TWP.
DANE COUNTY WISCONSIN



DR. E. G. BRUDER 1952

Individual Mound Recordings

No. 1 conical is located at the center of the east border of the N. E. ¼ of the S. E. ¼ Section 16, on the Carv A. Midthun farm. Years of cultivation has changed its round form to an oval shape. It now measures 40 fet in north-south diameter, and 34 feet in east-west diameter. It is 40 feet high, and has never been opened.

No. 2 conical is located across the line fence in the west border, near center, of the N. W. ¼ of the S. W. ¼ of Section 15, on the Ole and Thor Olson Farm. It bears N 65° E. and 120 feet away from mound No. 1, as shown on the accompanying map. Mound No. 2 is 46 feet in north-south diameter, and 39 feet in east-west diameter. It is now 40 inches high, and has been opened.

Conical mound No. 3 bears due N 90° E, and is 59 feet away from mound No. 2. Its north-south diameter is 40 feet, and its east-west diameter 36 feet. The height is 40 inches, and the mound is evidence of extensive excavations.

No. 4 conical, bears N 90° E, and is 137 feet away from mound No. 3. It is 40 inches high, and has been opened. Its present north-south diameter is 44 feet and its east-west diameter is 38 feet. All four conicals were originally 6 feet high.

No. 5 linear mound is almost completely destroyed. The darker soil of a low flattened ridge is all that remains. It originally "commenced 50 feet from No. 4 conical mound and extended eastward for 100 feet. Its height is 4 feet and it is 5 feet wide." [3] The true bearing of this mound is N 112° E. The 1879 description (due east) would place this linear in the path of the present State Highways. The correct bearing allows space between the mound, and the valley to the east and north, for both ancient and modern highways. These prehistoric monuments can be restored, and preserved for future generations. Our ancient heritages are becoming fewer and fewer each year.

[3] C.H. Lewis in Smithsonian Institution, page 434 Annual Report of 1879.

EFFIGY MOUNDS IN RICHLAND COUNTY

Lincoln Smith

Of the many effigy groups reported for Richland County (see Brown, C. E. in Wis. Arch. O. S. Vol. 5, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 370-373, Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 132, and Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 20-21) only a few have been mapped and published. Furthermore, it is apparent that many more mound groups exist which have never been publicly reported. This survey deals with some of those unrecorded groups which are to be found along or near the north side of the Wisconsin River in Eagle Township in the southeastern part of the County. It is interesting to note that this is an area in which bird mounds are plentiful, including the fork tailed and bent wing types. As this was the author's first attempt at surveying and mapping mounds, he enlisted the aid of Dr. Robert Ritzenthaler of the Milwaukee Public Museum in an on-the-spot check of all the groups and individual mounds covered by this report.

The Wade, Hamilton, and Dingman Mound Groups

These three groups named after the present farm owners will be treated together as they occur on adjoining land, each less than a half mile from the next one. They are to be found in Eagle Township and are accessible through the Alvin Hamilton farm some ten miles west of Gotham on highway 60. The mounds are located on a former bank of the Wisconsin River which is now some thirty feet high, and separated from the stream bed by a thousand feet of bottom land. Deciduous trees abound on the bottom lands, while the uplands contains considerable white pine, although most has been logged off. The mound groups are located in wooded areas plentifully covered with prickly ash and berry bushes. The soil is a sandy loam, which supports a good variety of farm crops. In some places it is almost pure sand and it is in these areas in which camp site material is most readily obtainable. The author has collected surface materials in the form of pottery and chipped stone specimens representing Woodland, Upper Mississippi, and Hopewell cultures.

The Wade Mounds (Fig. 1) consisting of thirteen mounds, is the westernmost of the three, and was the first group to be surveyed. Included in the group are ten linears, two conicals,

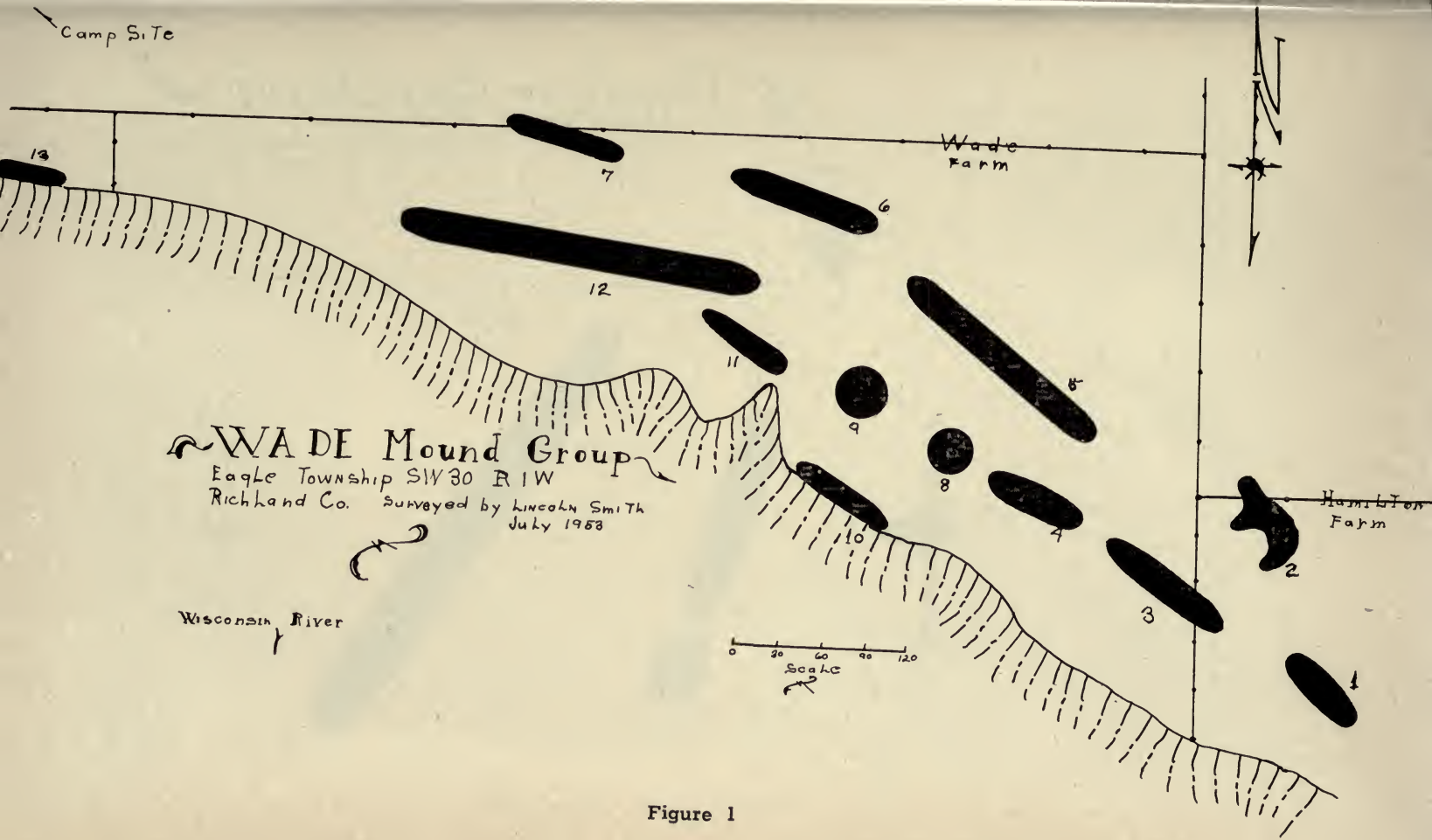

Camp Site
Wade Farm
WADE Mound Group
Eagle Township SW 30 R 1W
Richland Co. Surveyed by Lincoln Smith
July 1958
Wisconsin River
Hamilton Farm
Scale
0 30 60 90 120
N
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13

Figure 1

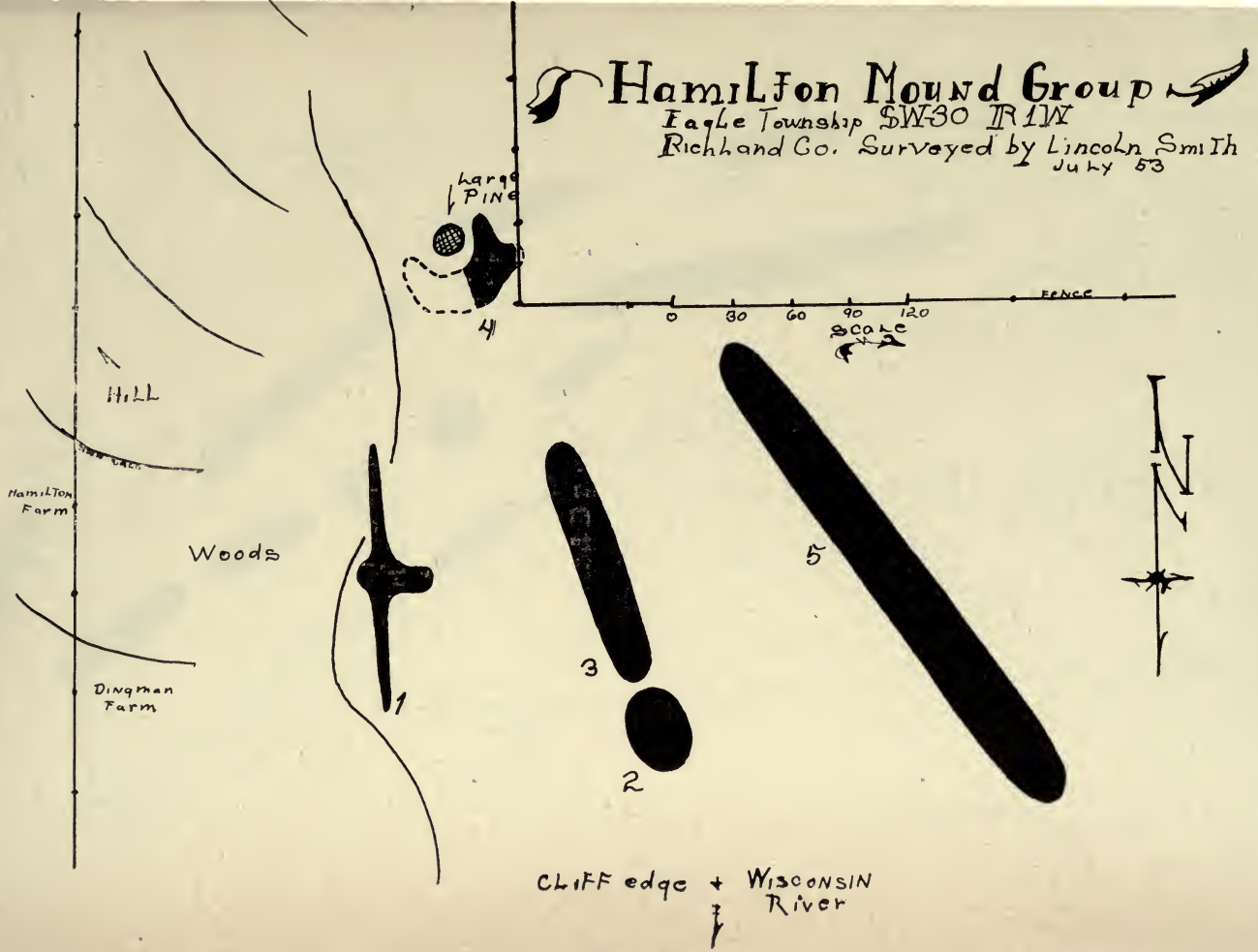

Hamilton Mound Group
Eagle Township SW-30 R1W
Richland Co. Surveyed by Lincoln Smith
July 53
Large Pine
4
0
30
60
90
120
Scale
Fence
Hill
Hamilton Farm
Woods
Dingman Farm
1
2
3
5
N
Cliff edge + Wisconsin River

Figure 2

and one mammal, probably a bear. The latter has been partially obliterated by the plow.

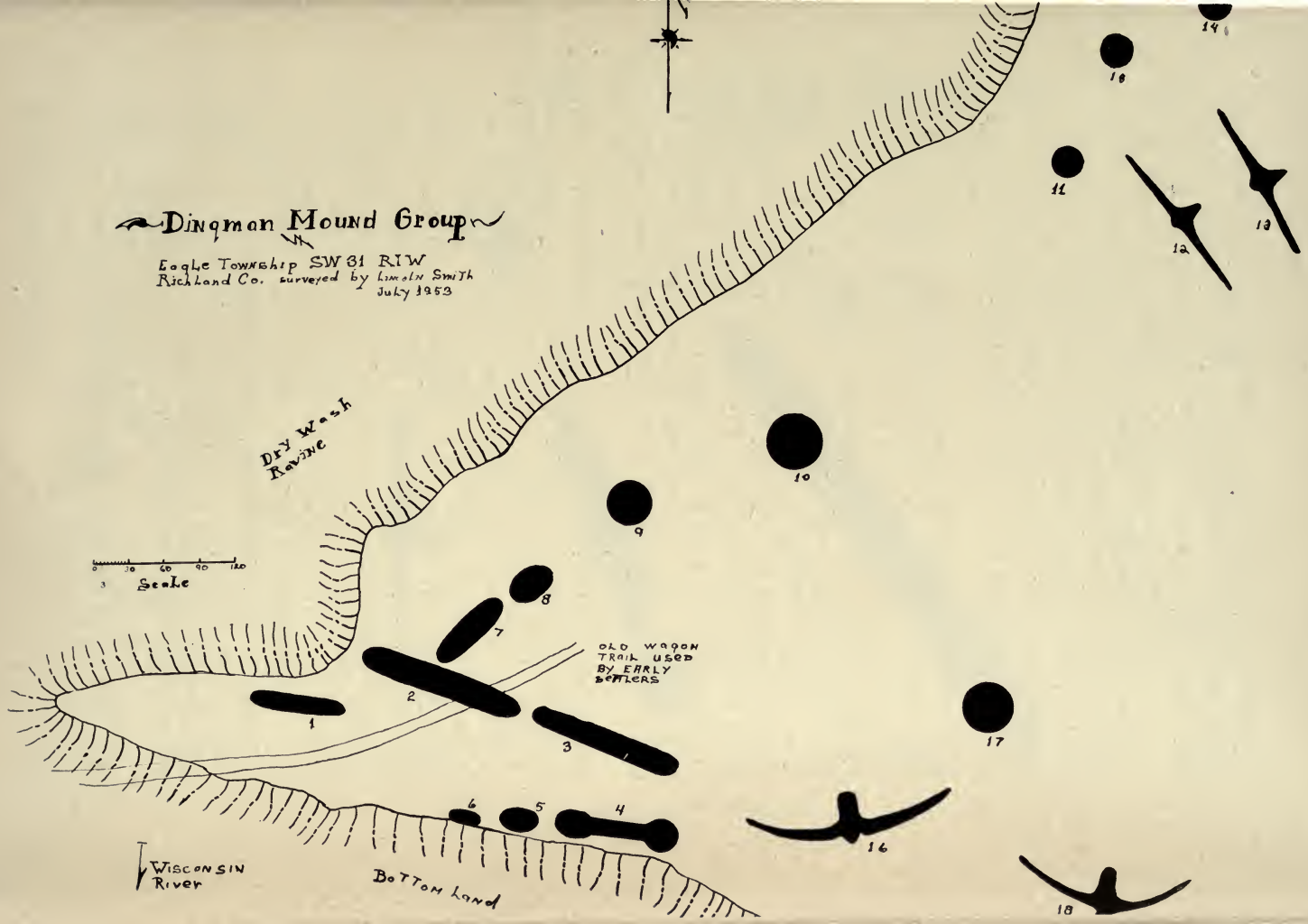
The Hamilton Group (Fig. 2) contains five mounds as follows: two linear, one conical, one flying bird, and one mammal. The latter, probably another bear, is quite badly eroded and the exact outlines rather difficult to discern. Linear No. 5 is the longest in the vicinity, being 270 feet in length.

The Dingman Group (Fig. 3) is largest of the three with 18 mounds nearly all in excellent condition, and containing some beautifully made bird mounds: two of the straight winged, and two of the swept back winged types. Besides the four bird mounds this group contains four linears, six conicals, three ovals, and one of the so-called "dumbell" variety made up of two conicals connected by a linear. The conical mounds in the group are of appreciable height, attaining five feet in some instances. The group is locted on a point formed by a deep ravine on one side, and the bank falling off to the bottom lands on the other.

Besides these three groups, there remain a number of bird mounds occurring singly in this general area. One of these, a beautifully made bent wing bird (Fig. 4) is to be found a short distance west of Orion in a pasture some 100 feet south of highway 60. Specifically, it is located on the Stadele farm, Eagle Township, SW¼ of Section 35, Range 1 West. It is of good size with a body length of 65 feet, 12 foot head and a wing spread of 204 feet. Except for a small pot hole dug in the body near the juncture of the wings, the mound is in an excellent state of preservation. It is easily seen from the highway and would make an interesting and accessible roadside park.

A second bird mound (Fig. 5 a), of the straight wing variety, is found on the Stadele farm between the barn and the river. It is on a slight slope and some 170 feet from the Wisconsin River. Camp site material found in this vicinity by Mr. Stadele include some fine Middle Mississippi side-notched points, Upper Mississippi celts, and Woodland points.

A third bird mound (Fig. 5, b), another straight wing bird, is to be found to the north of the Stadele farm, 150 feet north of highway 60, in the SW¼ of Section 26. It is of good size


Dingman Mound Group
Eagle Township SW 31 R1W
Richland Co. surveyed by Lincoln Smith
July 1953
Dry Wash Ravine
Scale
0 30 60 90 120
OLD WAGON TRAIL USED BY EARLY SETTLERS
Wisconsin River
Bottom Land
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
16
17
18

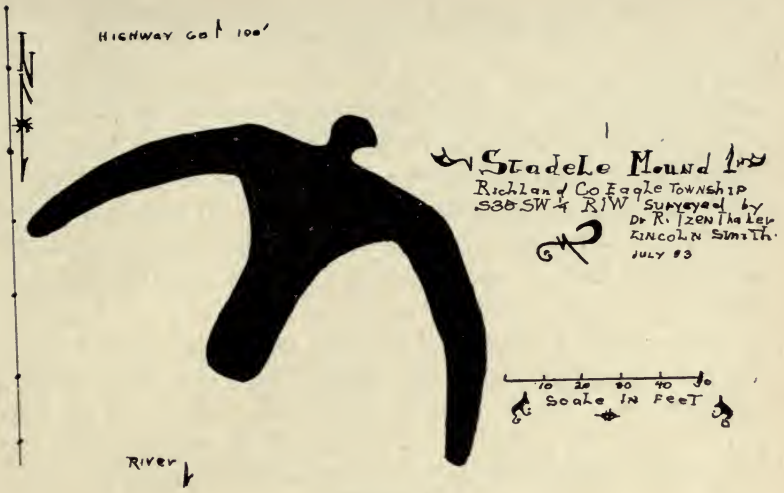


Figure 4

with a wing spread of 30 feet. One of the wings has been cut through by a lane. These three mounds are a minimum of a mile apart from one another and cannot be considered a single group.

After hearing several reports of a man mound located about six miles north of the river off highway 80, we set out to check. The mound was found on a steep hillside across the road from the Pleasant Valley District No. 5 school, in the

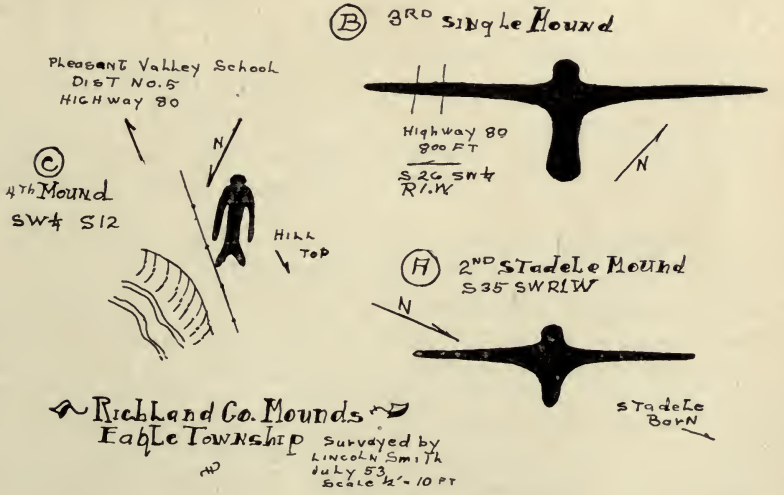


Figure 5

SW¼ of Section 12. It was badly eroded, especially at the head and right wing, and only one and one-half feet high, but its outlines were still discernable. It turned out to be a long bodied, bent winged, forked tail bird (Fig. 5, c). It is easy to see how this could be mistaken for a human figure, with the forked tail being construed as legs and the wings, which are swept back rather closely to the body, being interpreted as arms.

This portion of Richland County seems to be rich with mounds and we are sure that further interviews with farmers and local folk would bring to light many more mounds that have never been reported. A survey of the whole county, in fact, would be an interesting and productive project.

MADISON CHAPTER REPORT

A Madison chapter of the Wisconsin Archeological Society was proposed during an open meeting on November 8th, 1952. The first and organizational meeting was then held on Dec. 8, 1952 during which the chapter was named the Charles E. Brown Chapter of the Wisconsin Archeological Society. Officers elected included T. F. Kouba, President; Mrs. C. E. Brown, Secretary; and John W. Jenkins, Treasurer. Professors David A. Baerreis and John T. Curtis and Arthur W. Quan were appointed Program Committee and Warren Wittry and John Jenkins were appointed as the Membership Committee.

Charter members of the Chapter are as follows:

Frank A. Achen
David A. Baerreis
Sherman Berg
Mrs. C. E. Brown
John T. Curtis
Hiroshi Daifuku
Jon Doerflinger
Dr. H. H. Granger
Lorenz Heim
John W. Jenkins
Sheldon Judson
T. F. Kouba
Richard O. Keslin
Heinz E. Meyer
Gladys Michel
David Mack
Robert Nero
Arthur W. Quan
Michael Rohr
J. D. Sauer
Gwen Schultz
Dr. Lindley V. Sprague
Warren L. Wittry
Harold F. Williams
Dr. George J. Maloof
Walter E. Scott

Students were encouraged to attend the monthly meetings, but were not pressed to pay dues other than the local chapter. Consequently attendance of 25 to 30 people was not uncommon at the monthly meetings which were held in the State Historical Society's Museum.

Program topics for the meetings were varied as can be seen by the following list. Speakers were drawn from faculty members of several University departments as well as from among graduate students and only one out of town speaker, Dr. Robert Ritzenthaler, of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

December: David Mack, "How the Indians Made Their Copper Implements"

January: Richard O. Keslin, "The Archeology of the Missouri River Basin"

February: David A. Baerreis, "Wisconsin Archeology—Methods and Results"

March: Sheldon Judson, "Geological Background of Wisconsin's Prehistory"

April: John T. Curtis, "Botanical Background of Wisconsin Archeology."

May: Warren Wittry, "New Light on the Old Copper Complex"

June: Robert Ritzenthaler, lecture and moving pictures, "The Wisconsin Indian Today."

—John W. Jenkins

GREEN BAY CHAPTER REPORT

In March 1953 a meeting was called of those persons in Green Bay and vicinity interested in organizing an archeological club. Since then meetings have been held every two weeks with frequent field trips in between. Meetings are held at the Neville Public Museum, ordinarily, at 7:30 P. M. on the first Monday and third Wednesday of each month. Probably this winter only one meeting per month will be held.

We organized as a chapter of the Wisconsin Archeological Society. A person must be a member of the state society before he can join our group. However we invite participation in our meetings and in our outings by non-members in the hope that they may become interested in joining.

The following officers were elected:

Mr. Henry Bredael, President
Miss Sally Swaer, vice president
Miss Andrae Verheyden, sec'y-treas.

Other members are:

Mrs. A. Burr Be Dell
Mr. Fred Boness
Mr. Robert Boucher
Mr. Ellis Burcaw
Dr. Wayne Enderby
Mr. Robert Hall
Mr. and Mrs. Taylor Hall
Mrs. Helen Indra
Mr. and Mrs. H. Weldon McGee
Mr. Theodore McKloskey
Miss Phyllis Maloney
Mr. Leo O'Brien
Mr. and Mrs. G. E. Parkinson
Mr. Peter Platten
Miss Ann Randall
Mrs. Harriett Scott
Mr. George Sexton
Miss Janet Skrivseth
Mr. Joseph J. Steffel
Mrs. Patricia Swartz
Mrs. Gordon Ware

Our membership will continue to grow. I anticipate increased interest when the vacation season is over. Except for not yet having joined the state society at the time of this writing several other persons could be added to the above list.

At our meetings we have had movies, slides, guest speakers, lectures on archeological methods, games, wiener roasts, work sessions with washing and repairing of pottery, washing bones, making up digging kits, studying speciments, locating reported sites on maps, a written examination with prizes for the two highest scores, etc., all calculated to teach archeology and provide a great deal of fun in the process. This winter

we may from time go afield and delve into European and Near Eastern archeology and into chronological techniques. The museum sells at cost the University of California's field manual and other books including Robert Braidwood's "Prehistoric Men" and three we import from the British Museum.

We have been concerned this season chiefly with organizing and with surveying. We have done a little digging at an effigy mound site in Oconto County (which I hope to report on later) but for the most part we have been looking for a good village site. We have here at the Neville Public Museum some survey reports compiled years ago listing sites in the Green Bay region. I was very pleased on checking them to read of "large prehistoric Indian villages" with precise locations. Upon visiting these sites, however, we almost invariably found nothing. Not a flint chip or a potsherd. It soon became apparent, as we checked site after site, that what these old time collectors had done was to list places at which they had found projectile points and other objects. The areas of their "sites" were the areas of open ground where collecting was easy. Usually the "site" would be a sand pit or a bare sandy ridge. Before long we could spot the "sites" from a distance by the sand gleaming in the sunshine. Actually we have almost no reliable information on genuine archeological sites in northeastern Wisconsin other than knowing in a general way that the stream banks and the bay shores were occupied and that time and again people digging foundations for summer cottages have hit Indian material. Our hope is that by next season we shall have found a village site to give our time and effort to. Otherwise we shall have to begin a time consuming survey.

We here in Green Bay are glad to belong to the state society. There is a definite satisfaction gained from participation with a widespread group of serious purpose. As we gain newspaper, radio, and television publicity for the museum through archeological work we give notice that our activities are those of the local chapter of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, and our digging, we announce, is done under the auspices of the Wisconsin Archeological Survey.

We hope other members of the society will meet with our

local chapter when they are in Green Bay. We for our part wish to express sincere interest in the activities of the Milwaukee and Madison groups.

Ellis Burcaw,
Neville Public Museum
Green Bay
September, 1953

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET OF THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The fiftieth anniversary banquet was held on June 15, 1953 at the City Club in Milwaukee. There were sixty-two present including sizable delegations from Madison and Green Bay. A special table was reserved for the eleven pioneer guests, those having joined the Society before 1920.

Dr. Robert Ritzenthaler, as master of ceremonies, welcomed the guests, and introduced our president, Dr. E. G. Bruder, who reviewed the main events of the fifty years history of the Society. Mr. W. C. McKern, Director of the Milwaukee Public Museum, spoke on the developments in Wisconsin archeology during the past fifty years. Mr. C. L. Harrington, Chief Forester, Wisconsin State Conservation Department, told of the cooperation between the State and the Society and the progress made in the establishment of two archeological sites, Aztalan and the Lizard Mounds, as State parks within the last three years. Dr. David A. Baerreis, representing the newly organized Charles E. Brown chapter at Madison, briefly reviewed its first year of existence, followed by Ellis Burcaw who told of the progress being made by the recently formed chapter at Green Bay.

Lapham Research Medals, to members for outstanding contributions to Wisconsin archeology, were awarded by Mr. Herbert Cornell, after a resume of the history of the medal by Charles Schoewe. The medals were presented to the following members: Mr. Warren L. Wittry and Robert L. Hall of Mad-

ison, and Dr. Robert E. Ritzenthaler of Milwaukee. A new award, the Pioneer Certificate, was presented to the following members for long and active service in the Society: Messrs. Charles A. Koubeck, Louise Pieron, Rudolph Boettger, Gustave Zilisch, Charles Schoewe, Joseph Ringeisen, Dr. S. A. Barrett, Milo Richter, A. D. Grutzmacher, and A. E. Koerner. Six past presidents in attendance were presented as follows: Joseph Ringeisen, W. C. McKern, Dr. Herbert Kuhm, William Andrew, Charles Schoewe, Louis Pieron, and Robert Ritzenthaler.

Two movies on Indians were shown as a program finale. These members in attendance agreed that this was one of the most successful annual dinners ever held by the Wisconsin Archeological Society.

Herman O. Zander, Temporary Secretary

THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGIST

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Golden Anniversary

1903 - 1953

December, 1953
Vol. 34, No. 4

WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Incorporated 1903

For the purpose of advancing the study and preservation of Wisconsin Indian Antiquities.

Meets every fourth Monday of the month at the Finney Neighborhood Library, Sherman and North Avenue, Milwaukee. (Except during July and August.)

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MILWAUKEE, WIS., DECEMBER, 1953

ARCHEOLOGICAL REMAINS IN NORTHEASTERN DODGE COUNTY

By Dr. E. G. Bruder

Introduction

The entire 12 mile east border of the huge Horicon Marsh area of about 50,000 acres, contains many groups of prehistoric earthworks flanking the ancient and formerly heavily used trail. It is a common occurrence to survey five and six adjoining farms with large groups of effigy mounds, some of them unusual in design. Often these farms are owned by the descendants of the original owners, simplifying the task of locating the exact trail, with its adjoining campsites, and earthworks, through the many undisturbed fields and woods. About 300 mounds of all kinds, have been surveyed and recorded, but a far larger total remain unrecorded. The symmetrical design of certain rare type effigies, requires considerable time and patience in surveying. In nearly all places, the site of the historic villages and campsites, yield evidence of prehistoric occupation of several different cultures.

PEB 6 1954

The geological origin of the Horicon Marsh, gave this area many unusual advantages from remotest antiquity, in providing a fruitful and generous subsistence to the various tribes who had occupied this area. Its creation dates back to the last Wisconsin Ice Sheet, specifically its Green Bay Lobe, which ground out a large shallow basin, about 14 miles long and 7 miles wide, leaving it a natural lake with an original bottom consisting of a layer of stratified sand. The glacial moraine dyke at Horicon was soon topped by the accumulation of waters on its upper side, which eventually cut it down. At the same time, glacial stream out-wash partly filled in this

ARCHEOLOGICAL REMAINS IN DODGE COUNTY WISCONSIN

T13N LEROY TWP. R16E

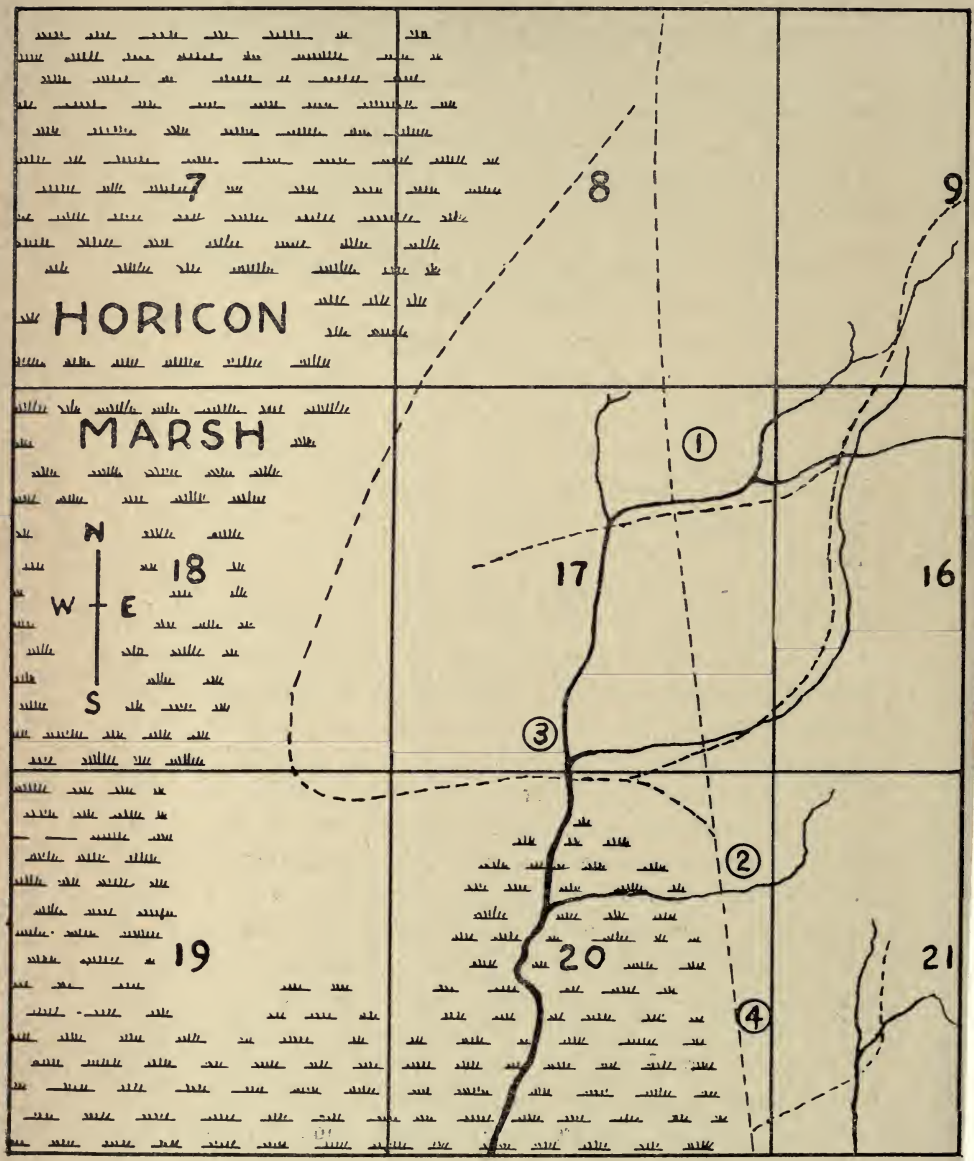


PLATE 1

1. KOLTERMAN MOUNDS — PLATE 2
2. SCHEBERL MOUNDS — PLATE 3
3. SMUTS POINT MOUND
4. WAAS MOUNDS

INDIAN TRAILS -----

lake with clay, crushed gravel and sand. The erosion and lowering of the glacial lake level stopped abruptly, when the Rock River reached the hard Galena-Dolomite rock strata in its bed at Hustisford Rapids, seven miles downstream from Horicon. This solid rock strata has acted as a natural dam, since geological ages, maintaining a fairly constant level of water, north to the Fond du Lac County line. Sediment from the adjoining streams gradually filled in, and the growing vegetation formed peat bogs 6 to 8 feet thick, a process requiring many centuries to complete. It was this very uniform level of water, existing from remote ages, that permitted the luxuriant and undisturbed growth of the ancient flora, particularly the vast beds of wild rice and cranberries. All kinds of fish and waterfowl were found there in immense numbers. The original surveyor's field notes, describe this east border as solid timber, with the sugar maple predominating over entire townships. Many kinds of nut and fruit trees are existant at the present time. The external survey was made in 1836, by J. Brink, and the internal survey was completed on December 31, 1836, by A. G. Ellis, for the States of Ohio, Indiana, and the territory of Michigan.

The placing of the log dam across the Rock River at Horicon in 1845 and 1846, again filled Lake Horicon to the glacial lake depth of four feet. The ancient bench marks are still in evidence. This resulted in the destruction of the entire native flora, particularly the wild rice, and cranberry beds, which the prehistoric people had prized so highly. The removal of the dam in 1867, destored the water level of the prehistoric marsh,—but not the ancient flora. The later attempts to drain the marsh, resulted in the present condition, wild grasses and weeds, a desolate picture which the Wisconsin Conservation Dept. and the U. S. Wild Life folks are endeavoring to correct by restoring the marsh to its original condition.

The northernmost group of prehistoric works are located in the Town of LeRoy, T13-R-16E, Dodge County, Wisconsin, and are shown on the accompanying map (Plate 1). These mounds are only two miles from the Fond du Lac County line, which approximates the extreme northern limits of the Hor-

icon Marsh. The ancient main trail extends southward from Fond du Lac, following the eastern edge of the marsh to Horicon. On the high ridges, along its eastern flank, facing the trail and overlooking the vast marsh area, we find this almost continuous group of earthworks of the effigy mound culture. The prehistoric main trail follows County Trunk "Z" very closely, but opposite the August Kolterman home, it veered slightly to the west, and continued north to the L. and E. Schmidt farm, where it was joined by the Smuts Point Trail. It is shown as a straight line, but according to the original settlers, the ancient trail was continually winding, taking the course of least resistance. Certain segments of the old trail are still existant. When the old trail was surveyed as a town road, it was placed to the east, necessitating partial destruction of several otter and conical mounds on the Aug. Kolterman farm, as shown on Plate 2. This farm is located on the west part of the NE¼ of the NE¼ of Section 17 T13N-R-16E, Town of LeRoy, Dodge County, Wis. The mounds on this farm were first mentioned to us by Gustave Zilisch, of the Wisconsin Archeological Society.

Part I

Mound Groups in LeRoy Township

1. Kolterman Mounds (Plate 2)

The No. 1 effigy of this farm is a large otter type, 106 feet long. Its tail is 51 feet long, and 3 feet high. Width of body through center of rear leg is 29 feet. Width of body through center of front leg is 36 feet. Elevation of body is 4 feet. It is a carefully made effigy, and has never been disturbed. These tracings of effigy mounds, made from a field map, drawn to scale from a series of angular measurements with a transit, and linear measurements with a steel tape, give a far more true picture than any photograph would reveal, because of the inevitable distortion created by the camera.

Conical Mound No. 2 is 35 feet in diameter, and 3½ feet high. Eight feet to the north is conical mound No. 3, which is 36 feet in diameter and 3½ feet high. Touching it to the

EFFIGY MOUND GROUP

AUGUST KOLTERMAN FARM

NE¼, NE¼ of Section 17, T13N - R16E - LEROY TWP.

DODGE COUNTY, WIS.

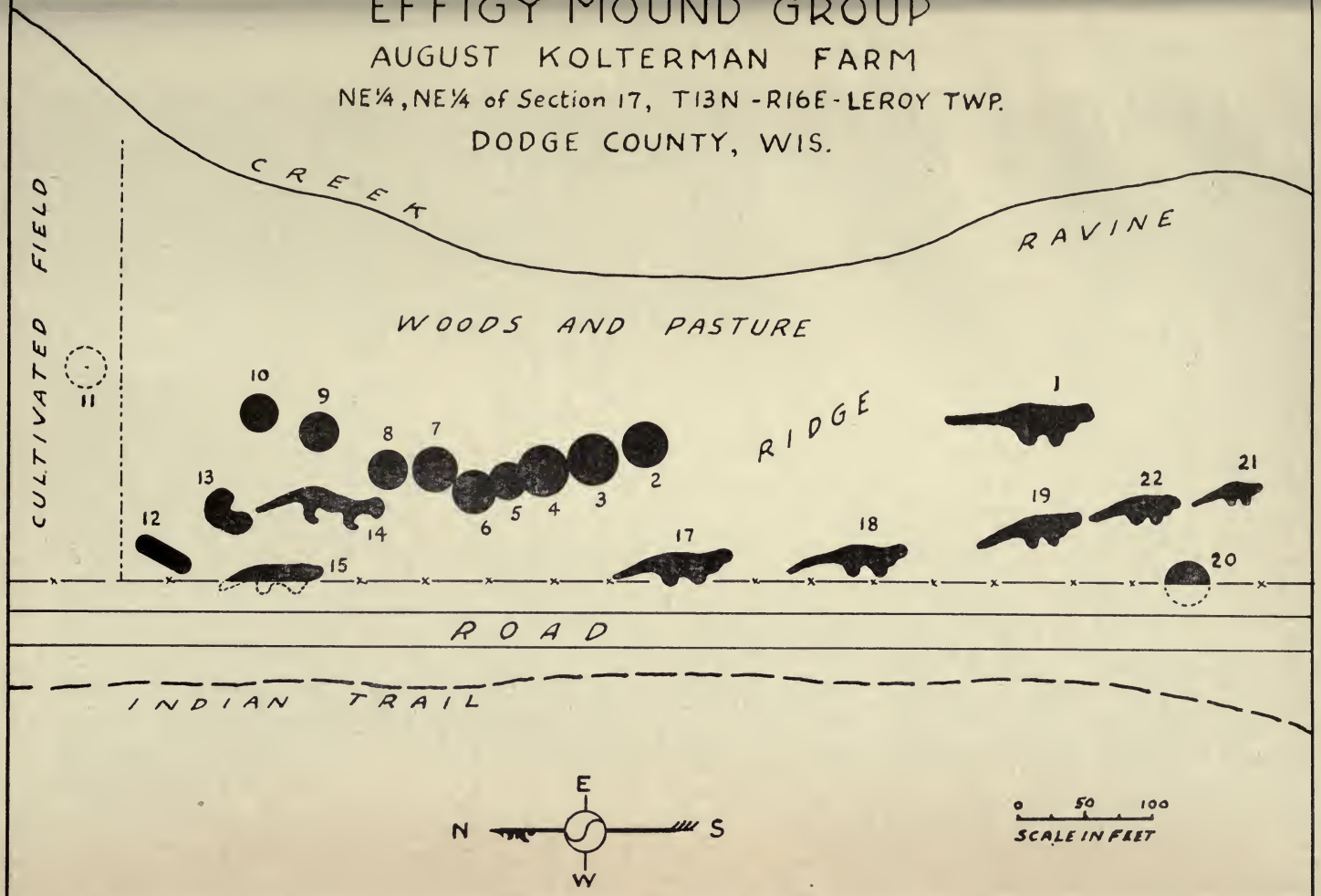


PLATE 2

DR. E.G. BRUDER AUG. 1951

north, is conical No. 4, 39 feet in diameter and 4 feet high. Conical mound No. 5 is 19 feet in diameter and 3 feet high, was crowded in between conical No. 6, 38 ft. in diameter and 4 feet high, and conical No. 5. It partly extends over both of these mounds. Center of No. 6 is 376 feet, and bearing N 13°—20' W from Station "A" on the end of the tail of No. 1, otter.

No. 7 conical is 33 feet N. E. of No. 6, and has a diameter of 27 feet, and a height of 3 feet, and touches No. 6.

No. 8 conical is to the north of No. 7 and in close contact. It has a diameter of 29 feet, and a height of 3 feet. No. 9 conical is 26 feet north and slightly east of No. 8. Its diameter is 27 feet, and its height 3 feet. No. 10 conical is 7 feet north of No. 9, and has a diameter of 27 feet and a height of 3 feet. No. 11 conical was about 30 feet in diameter, and 3 feet high, and was located to the north of No. 10, to the north of the fence, in a cultivated field, 82 feet away, and is now totally destroyed. Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 bear N 17°—30' E m. g. from the center of No. 6, which was used as "B" station. Mound No. 12 is a small linear, 30 feet long and 4 feet high. It is located in the extreme N. W. corner of the woods. No. 13 is an odd-shaped earthwork. It consists of two irregular mounds, one 17 feet long, and 2 feet high, 8 feet wide, and the other 20 feet long, 2½ feet high, and 8½ feet wide. They touch on their N. W. ends, and leave a "V" shaped opening to the southeast.

A short distance southeast is a large, flat gray granite boulder, about one foot high, with black and partly fused areas in the center. It almost touches the tail of No. 14, a panther type effigy. This is a beautifully and symmetrically made mound. It is 70 feet long. The tail is 26 feet long and 16 inches high, and is 8 feet wide near the end. The height of the body is 26 inches, the heigth of legs 16 inches, and they are 8 feet wide. The width through the body to end of rear legs is 27½ feet. The width through the body to the end of front leg is 23½ feet. The distance between the legs is 18 feet. Profile views of this effigy bring out in bold relief the various anatomical features the prehistoric artist built into

this mound. The panther has been extinct in Wisconsin for over 100 years.

No. 15 is the upper half of an otter effigy, which has been sliced by the fence and the road grader. It is 64 feet long, and the remaining part still reveals the clearly defined features of the other otters in this group.

No. 16 is a conical 30 feet in diameter and 2½ feet high. About 1 | 5 has been removed by the road graders. A huge white oak tree protects the remaining part.

No. 17 is another otter effigy 83 feet long, with a tail 28 feet long, and diameter of the body is 20 feet. About 4 feet of the legs were removed by the grader. No. 18 is another otter 72 feet long, and 18 feet through the body.

No. 19 is an otter, 78 feet long, with a tail 27 feet long and 18 feet wide through the body and 30 inches high. No. 20 is the east one half of a conical formerly 40 feet in diamter, and 3 feet high. The grader removed the west half.

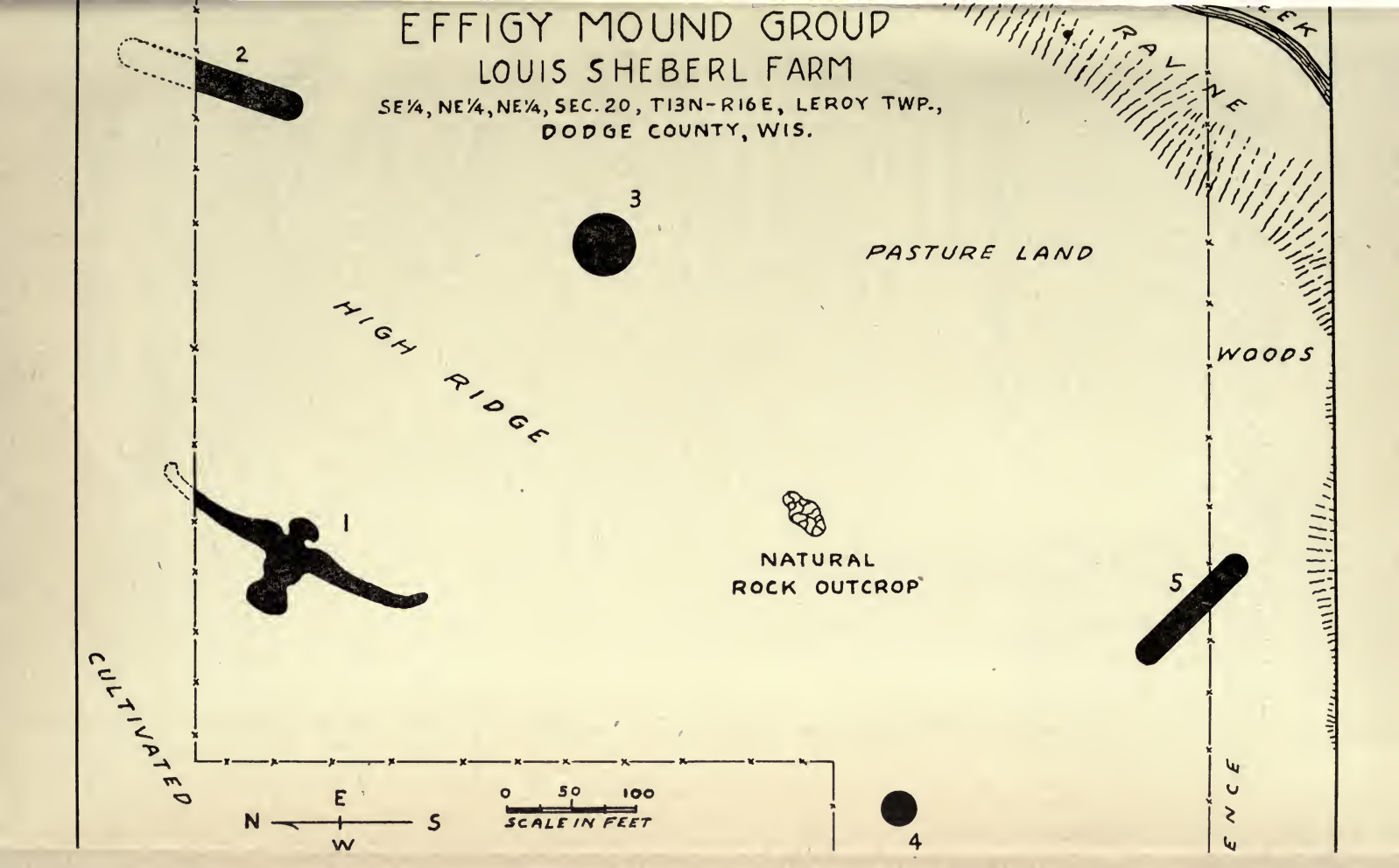
No. 21 is a small otter 43 feet long, and 2½ feet high. No. 22 is a well made otter, 64 feet long, and 3 feet high. All of these seven otter type effigys in this group show the same proportions and design in their measurements, a splendid example of the prehistoric art of the effigy mound culture.

The native wooded area to the east of this ridge of mounds, is traversed by a flowing stream, and was used by both prehistoric and historic people as an extended village site. Broken pieces of pottery, and several large, concentrated places of worked flint remain to this day. These fields have never been cultivated.

2. Scheberl Mounds (Plate 3)

T 13 N-R-16 E,— S. E. ¼ of the N. E. ¼ of Section 20.

These mounds are located to the east of the main trail, on the high ridges adjoining. They command a beautiful and far-reaching view of the entire countryside, and the marsh area, and were in use when the early pioneers arrived in this country. The most outstanding, mound No. 1, is an eagle-type, measuring 198 feet between wing tips, and 59 feet from top of its head to the end of the tail. The head is 2 feet high, the body 4 feet high, and the wings are 3 feet high near


EFFIGY MOUND GROUP
LOUIS SHEBERL FARM
SE¼, NE¼, NE¼, SEC. 20, T13N-R16E, LEROY TWP.,
DODGE COUNTY, WIS.
2
3
PASTURE LAND
HIGH RIDGE
RAVINE
WOODS
1
NATURAL
ROCK OUTCROP
5
CULTIVATED
N
E
S
W
0 50 100
SCALE IN FEET
4
FENCE

the body and 2 feet high near the tips. It bears S-65° E m. g. In surveying this mound, two stations were used (A) at the tip of the tail, and (B) in the center of the body. The two sets of angle measurements were recorded with the transit, and included all the prominent anatomical features, equally spaced on both sides of the center line, the intervening distances recorded with a steel tape, suggests that the prehistoric people used a cord and checked the same measurements from several common centers. The ancient architects demonstrated their real talents, and sense of proportion, in creating this effigy, many centuries ago.

The eagle's wings are tipped forward, as though it appears to be coming in for a landing on the large conical mound No. 3, on the highest part of the ridge.

No. 3 conical is 50 feet in diameter, and 6½ feet high. It was opened 55 years ago.

No. 2 is a linear 120 feet long, and 16 feet wide, bearing N. 18° E m. g. The north 40 feet beyond the fence and in a cultivated field is almost obliterated. Immediately to the north of No. 2 linear, was the formerly heavily used trail, leading from Smuts Point, diagonally through the Louis Scheberl farm and southeast to the Theresa Marsh.

South of the Eagle mound and between mounds No. 3 and 4 is a huge natural Niagara dolomite outcrop.

No. 4 is a small conical, 20 feet in diameter, and 3½ feet high.

No. 5 in a linear, 84 feet long and 16 feet wide, bearing S 45° E mg. The south 30 feet project beyond the fence into the adjoining Waas farm.

This ridge is flanked on the the east and on the south by a deep gully, which contains a small, swift stream, fed by the many springs to the east and northeast. The high ridge acted as a protective barrier to the several prehistoric and later historic village sites to the east, in this valley. The long, uninterrupted sweep of the severe winter storms, across the vast expanse of the marsh area, compelled the ancients to use the lee side of these high north and south ridges for their winter homes. This is evident throughout the entire 12 miles border.

When the early settlers arrived in 1840, they found the historic Potawatomi residing on these same sites, all of which yielded evidence of long, prehistoric occupation. For their summer residence they used the projecting peninsulars. The largest of these, is Smut's Point, so called by the early settlers, because of the various odors, and unsanitary conditions at that time, of the large encampments of the constantly shifting bands of the Potawatomi. Smut's Point (Plate No. 1) covering parts of sections 17, 18, 19 and 20, in the Town of LeRoy, was used as the summer camp of the Potawatomi with Chief Kewaskum, about 1830 to 1848. The village was called Ke-che-waw-bush-co-king (*). Simon Kaquados told the writer, that his father and grandfather were with Chief Kewaskum at this village, at that time the largest in this northermost part of their nation. It contained between 1,500 and 1,800 people.

3. Smuts Point Mound

Only a single mound has been located on Smuts Point, on the Wm. Ewald farm, exactly in the south center of Section 17, and west of the creek. It is a linear 60 feet long, 18 feet wide, and 4 feet high, with a flat top. It has never been violated. After the minor skirmish between the Potawatomi and pioneer settlers in August 1861, the Indians insisted that the discussions which followed, be held on this prehistoric mound. Many burials have been uncovered in the natural kames on these farms,—but the varous kinds of trade items found with them, associate these "gravel pit" burials with the late historic tribes.

A huge red granite boulder, which shows evidence of heavy charring in the center, is located in the center of the S. W. ¼ of Section 17. Many other irregular shaped earthworks are spaced throughout this area. They are located in virgin woods, and in cleared, but never cultivated fields. A better location for a summer encampment is seldom to be found.

* Reported by P. V. Lawson and Dr. A. Gerend, in quoting Simon Kaquados, a prominent Indian of Wabeno, Wis. The Wisconsin Archeologist, Vol. 19, April, 1920, No. 2, Page 69.

Traces of a channel which formerly encircled the southern two-thirds of Smuts Point, are evident to this day.

The extreme north border of the Potawatomi nation reached from 6 miles south of Fond du Lac, following the high natural barrier, east to west, to the Niagara escarpment from near Eden to Oakfield in the extreme southern part of Fond du Lac county, then southward through the center of the Horicon Marsh, following the Rock River to the Illinois line. The east border of the Potawatomi lands followed southward from Eden along the main branch of the Milwaukee River to Milwaukee. Kewaskum's domain reached southward to Jefferson, on the east bank of the Rock River, then eastward to the Milwaukee River. The western boundary was highly respected. The Potawatomi always resided on the east bank of the Rock River. Jefferson, Hustisford and Horicon are sites where the Winnebago and Potawatomi villages faced each other across the Rock River, in historic times, and undoubtedly long before. The east boundary along the Milwaukee, and the Menominee Nation was not enforced in historic times. At Theresa, in the last years of the Potawatomi nation, in the early 1830's, the Menominee and Potawatomi were about equal in numbers. The Winnebago did not enter this territory until the Potowatomi rights were terminated, by the treaty of Chicago, Illinois, September, 1833.

4. Waas Mounds

T 13 N—R 16 E Town of Le Roy, SW¼ Section 21 and SE ¼ Section 20.

The Armand Waas farm was originally owned by the grandfather Frank Holz, present age 100 years, who settled on this farm which was purchased from the U. S. by his father when Frank was seven years old. The ancent main trail through the dense timber which covered the entire countryside was the only means of entry to this area. Originally it was over 6 feet wide and deeply worn, from centuries of continuous usage. The historic Potowatomi continued to occupy all their ancestral home sites. They used the ancient ceremonial grounds to the south, and to the east of this farm for many years. Cultivation of these grounds, revealed the prehistoric age of

ARCHEOLOGICAL REMAINS

S.W. PART OF WILLIAMSON TWP., DODGE CO., WIS.

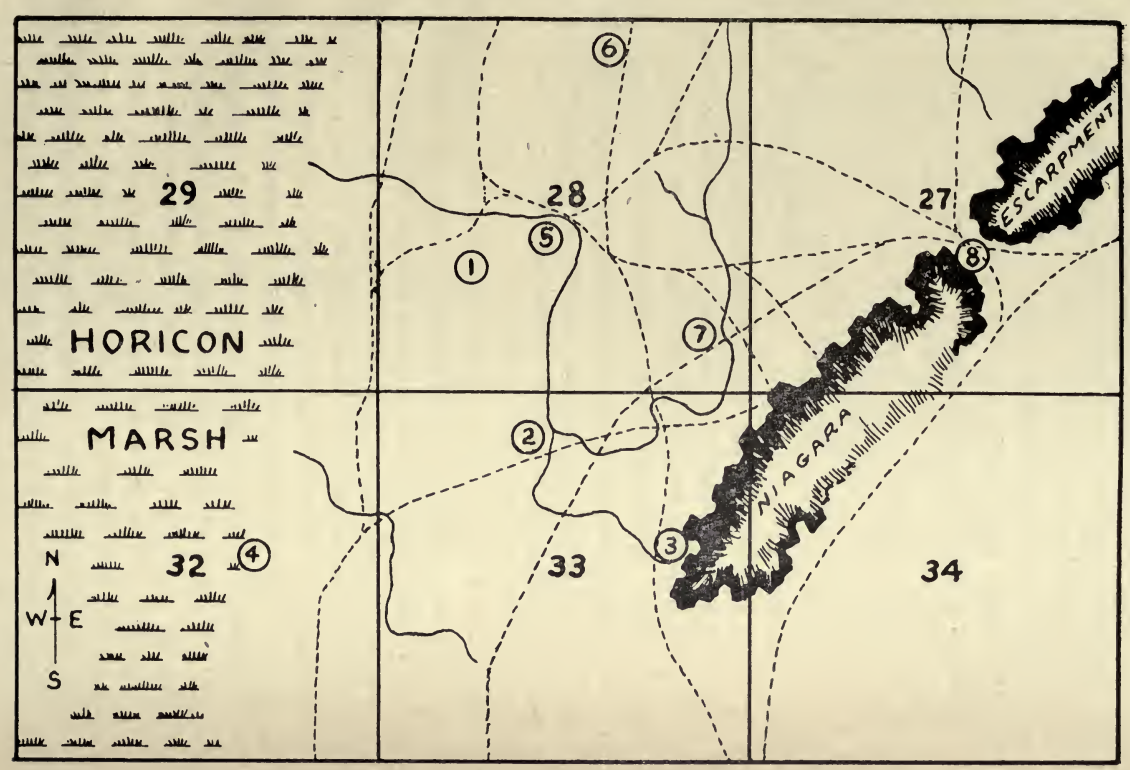


PLATE 4

1. EHRICKE MOUNDS PLATE 5
2. DOBBERPUHL MOUNDS
3. INDIAN PAINTINGS
4. ISLE MOUNDS
5. KOCH MOUNDS PLATE 6
6. FISCHER MOUNDS PLATE 7
7. SCHAUMBERG MOUNDS
8. SCHELLFEFFER MOUNDS

--- INDIAN TRAILS ---

both sites. This farm and the adjoining farm to the north, was the scene of the last skirmish with the Indians in this part of Wisconsin in August 1861.

The outstanding mound is a beaver type effigy. It is 51 feet long, 32 feet wide, and 3 feet high, and bears N 12° W mg. Various side and end profile views bring out in bold relief, the important anatomical features which the historic Indian carefully built into this beaver effigy. Both feet are 8 feet wide. The paddle-like tail is 7 feet wide near the body and 8 feet wide at its greatest width, near the end of the tail. Profile views of its head show definite attempts to bring out its correct proportions. A large black oak, 20 inches in diameter is growing on its body near the rear legs. The head points to the south and the feet to the west. It has never been violated.

On this same farm of Mr. Waas, to the west of the fence, and the beaver effigy (S. E. ¼ Section 20) are located four conical mounds. No. 1 is 20 feet in diameter, and 2½ feet high; No. 2 and No. 3 are both 25 feet in diameter and 2½ feet high. No. 4 is 18 feet in diameter and 2 feet high.

To the east on the high ridge, are the remains of a large village site, located on both sides of a now dry creek bed. The springs which fed this creek have all stopped flowing in recent years, because of the gradual lowering of the water table. It remains, however, a most beautiful park area of native timbers, shrubs, and many wild flowers of all kinds,, in its primeval state.

The most gratifying of all these surveys, was the whole-hearted cooperation extended by the folks on whose land these prehistoric monuments are located. We can be assured that these archeological remains will be preserved, wherever it is possible to do so.

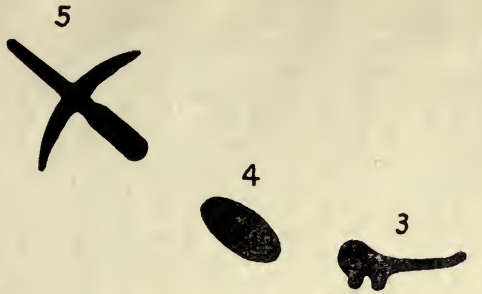
Part II
Mound Groups in Williamstown Township

These mounds are located in Dodge County, Wisconsin in the Town of Williamstown T 12N-R-16E, and on sections 28, 29 and parts of 27, 32, 33 and 34 (Plate 4).

EFFIGY MOUND GROUP

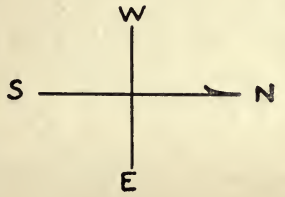
ED. EHRICKE FARM

N½, SW¼, SEC. 28, T12N-R16E, WILLIAMSTOWN,
DODGE COUNTY, WIS.



WOODS

HIGHWAY 28



0 50 100
SCALE IN FEET

DR. E.G. BRUDER 1951 PLATE 5

1. Ehricke Mound Group (Plate 5)

The Ed. Ehricke Farm is located on the S. W. ¼ of Section 28. Four effigy and one oval mounds are located in the dense woods on the hill to the west of Wisconsin Highway 28, which follows a diagonal course SW to NE, through the SW ¼ of Section 28. Two panthers, face to face, comprise the effigy group furtherest north in the woods. This unique arrangement is seldom found; the only known similar group is found in Lizard Mound State Park, near West Bend. A very heavy growth of briar brush covers both mounds. The No. 1 (north) panther is 127 feet long. It bears N. 5°-40' E, and face south. The length of the body is 37 feet. The width of the fore part of the mound as measured from the extreme edge of the head to the outer edge of the foreleg is 30 feet, 6 inches. The width across the rear portion of the mound, measured from the hip to the edge of the rear leg, is 26 feet, 4 inches. The long tail (90 feet overall) is 13 feet, 5 inches wide near the body, and 6 feet wide at the tip. The head is designated by a widening of the body, and has a height of 4 feet, tapering down to a height of 3½ feet at the hip. The straight tail averages 22 inches in height. The outlines of both effigies are gracefully rounded, and clearly defined. The distance from the tip of the tail, due north to the north line fence is 141 feet, and the distance to the east fence is 216 feet, occupying the N. E. corner of the woods.

The No. 2 (south) panther, bearing N. 6°-20' E is less massive, but has the same graceful contour of No. 1. Its head faces north, and is 27 feet away from the head of its fellow effigy. The long axis alignment of the two effigies, varies only 40' from true, practically perfect. The overall length of No. 2 effigy is 111 feet, with a body 3½ feet high. The width of the fore part is 26 feet from top of head to outer edge of the foreleg. Its height is 40 inches. The width across the rear portion to the tip of the rear leg is 20 feet. The long tapering tail is 80 feet long, with a width nearest the body of 11 feet, narrowing to 6 feet at the rounded end of the tail, which has an average height of 20 inches. Large oak trees and dense briar cover both mounds. The distance from the tip of

the tail of No. 2 panther to the east fence is 70 feet. No. 3 panther is located on the adjoining thickly wooded ridge to the west bearing S 43° W, and 385 feet away from the tip of No. 2 panther. The long axis of No. 3 bears 23° E mg. Its length is 78 feet, and has an upturned tail. The head is merely a well rounded widening of the body, and measures 29½ feet from top of head to outer edge of foreleg. From its hip to edge of rear leg, the distance measures 22 feet, with average height of 2 feet.

Oval mound No. 4 bears due south, and is 46 feet from No. 3 panther. Its long axis bears S. 28° W, mg. The mound is 65 feet long with a height in the fore part (south) of 4½ feet, sloping to height of 2½ feet on extreme north end. No. 5 is a goose type effigy which bears S 39° W mg. and is located in dense woods and brush. It is 147 feet west of the east fence of the woods, measured from a point 6 feet south of the center of its wings. This type is often referred to as a "cross." We have located two more of this type, five miles northward. It is 116 feet long, with a body height of 26 inches, neck 20 inches, and wings 20 inches. The body has a very uniform width of 16 feet, extending to the rounded part of the tail, where it is 8 feet wide. The neck has a uniform width of 10 feet, narrowing down to 9 feet to 7 feet as it approached the head. Its average height is 20 inches. The left wing is 41 feet long and 9 feet wide at the body, narrowing to 9 feet, to 8 feet, to 6 feet with a width of 5 feet at its carefully rounded tip. The right wing is 42 feet long and 9 feet wide at the body, narrowing to 9 feet, to 8 feet, to 6 feet, and to 4½ feet at its well rounded tip. The wings average height is 20 inches, sweeping backward 11° from their midway axis.

The extreme S. E. part of the Ed. Ehricke farm contains a large village site, and work-shop area, which extends southward into the adjoining Hilbert Dobberpuhl farm. It was probably a winter site. getting its protection from the thickly wooded hill to the west. The ancient Horicon-Theresa trail crosses this site in a N. E. direction. The early pioneer settlers noticed that the historic bands of Potowatomi occupied these very same prehistoric sites, according to the seasons.

Their "summer homes" were located on the higher land overlooking the Horicon Marsh, a short distance to the west, and adjoining the large springs. The entire 12 mile east border of the the Marsh, contains many similar sites. Hilbert Dobberpuhl Farm, on the N. E. ¼ of the N. W. ¼ of Section 33, contains the southern extension of the large village site of the above described Ed. Ehricke Farm.

2. Dobberpuhl Mounds

The H. Dobberpuhl Farm contains a well rounded and gracefully made panther effigy in excellent state of preservation. The hips, shoulders, neck, body and tail are more proportionately built, in contrast to the construction of the average panther effigy in this county. It bears S 60° W, mg., and is located in a virgin woods, impassable in places because of briar brush among the trees, 70 feet west of the east fence, and 90 feet south of the north fence in the north-east corner of the woods. The ledge creek is located close by to the north, and the large spring to the west provided clear cold water for the ancient builders. The effigy is 106 feet long, including a tail with a width of 40 feet, and 26 inches high. The height of the body at the rear legs is 30 inches, and 28 inches high at the front legs. The legs are 20 feet long and 22 isches high, and point to the west. Large oak trees are growing at the very edge of the body. A conical mound 13 feet in diameter, and 20 inches high, and an oval mound 26 feet long and 11 feet wide, with a height of 22 inches, completes this group. They are located 10 feet to the east of the head of the panther, and have never been disturbed.

On the August Luebke Farm, NE ¼ of NE ¼ of Section 33, is a large spring, surrounded by evidence of extensive camp sites. Several trails traversed this farm, and were marked with directional trees. Signal Point is a high projecting cliff of the Niagara Escarpment. The south half of a blackened hole burnt deep into the partly calcinated dolomite limestone, at the very edge of the cliff, remains today. Many years ago, in memory of people alive today, on a very cold night, the pressure of continuous hard freezing, split assunder this age old rock. Tons of rock plunged 170 feet, with a terrific roar

to the rugged talus below, and with a quaking of the entire immediate area, which frightened the early pioneers to the extent that no one ventured outside until the next morning. The far-reaching views from this cliff in every direction, including the far west side of the Horicon Marsh, are most unusual.

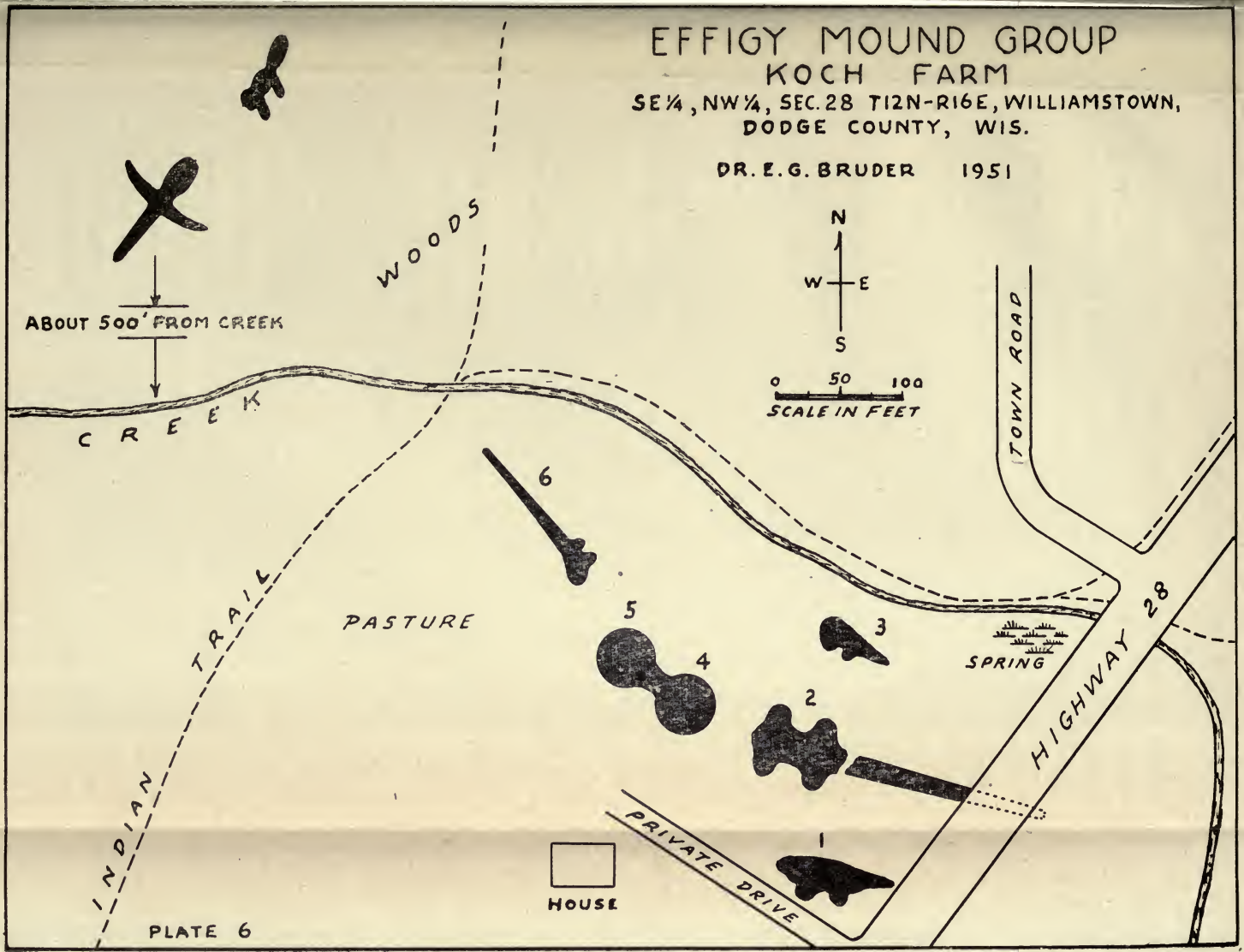
Indian paintings occur on the Herman Nitschke Farm, S. E. ¼ of the N. E. ¼ Section 33. They are described in the Wisconsin Archeologist, Vol. 30, No. 4, pp. 73-78.

Indermuehle Island is deep in the Horicon Marsh, south of the center of Section 32. The so-called island is an enlargement and elevation of a long, low projecting peninsula from the mainland to the east. A panther effigy and a tadpole effigy comprise this group, which was referred to us by Wilton Erdman of the Wisconsin Archeological Society. His survey and drawing check with our description. The panther is 116 feet long, with a width across the body, through the legs, of 24 feet. The body is 38 inches high. Some soil has been removed from the top part of the body. The mound bears S 57° W.

The tadpole is 46 feet long and 28 feet wide through the body and 38 inches high. Its tail is 24 inches high near the body, tapering down to 10 inches at the end of the tail. Both mounds were well above the flood stage of the former Lake Horicon, 1845 to 1867. This land is part of the Indermuehle Farm, now owned by Mrs. Irma Brummond...

3. Koch Mound Group (Plate 6)

Koch farm mounds are located on the NE¼ of the SW¼ of Section 28. This farm is owned today by the descendants of the original owners, who passed on valuable information regarding the exact path of the very old trails which crossed this farm. The formerly heavily used north-south trail passed through the heavily wooded east border of the Horicon Marsh. It was over 6 feet wide and deeply worn from centuries of use. A block-long segment of the main trail remains to this day, in the adjoining township to the south. It avoided the steep grades of the very prominent drumlins of this area, and closely followed the shores of meandering brooks. Three


EFFIGY MOUND GROUP
KOCH FARM
SE¼, NW¼, SEC. 28 T12N-R16E, WILLIAMSTOWN,
DODGE COUNTY, WIS.
DR. E.G. BRUDER 1951
N
W
E
S
0 50 100
SCALE IN FEET
ABOUT 500' FROM CREEK
WOODS
CREEK
TOWN ROAD
HIGHWAY 28
PASTURE
INDIAN TRAIL
SPRING
PRIVATE DRIVE
HOUSE
1
2
3
4
5
6
PLATE 6

of these trails intersected immediately to the north of the large spring, which has never been known to be dry. Many pieces of Woodland pottery, sherds, and flint chippings and bone awls, are evidence of prehistoric habitation.

The Koch Farm site is a pasture to the south of the ravine, trails and brooks, and west of Wisconsin Highway 28. It is directly north of the Koch home, and contains 4 effigies, and a biconical group. A considerable amount of soil has been removed from the mounds, through erosion, but mainly for garden and lawn fill.

The first mound is a beaver effigy, located in the extreme S. E. corner of the pasture. It bears 273° from the tail to the head, is 100 feet long, with a 34 inch height of body, and 18 inch height of tail. The distance from the top of the front shoulder to the top of its front leg is 33 feet, and the distance from the top of its hip to the southermost tip of the rear leg is 30 feet. The width at the center of the body is 23 feet. Most of the soil of the front leg has been removed together with a considerable part from the head. Fortunately the early gardeners wanted lots of good soil, in a hurry, so they set their shovels deep, leaving the well defined outline to define its former carefully made proportions. A profile brings the well rounded body and tail out in bold relief.

The second mound in this group is a very large turtle effigy, bearing N 116° E from head to tail. It is 215 feet long, with a 34 inch height, of body, a 26 inch height of its legs, a 20 inch height of its tail, and an 8 inch height of head. Fifty feet of its tail were removed in the construction of Wisconsin Highway No. 28. The distance across the front part of the body between the extreme outer edge of the forelegs, is 60 feet and the distance across the rear part of the body, between the extreme outer edge of rear legs is 58 feet, making it a well proportioned effigy. A large amount of soil has been removed from the center of the body, and from both right front, and left rear legs, but the outlines are undisturbed. The early pioneers quickly realized the value of the rich woodland type of surface soil with which the ancients constructed the many different kinds of earthworks in this area. Being

almost entirely free of stones, it permitted easier handling in the use of their primitive tools.

The No. 3 mound is an otter effigy, located 12 feet from the north border of the ravine, to the south of the pasture and brook. It bears N 108° E, from head to the tip of the tail. The height at the head and forepart is 28 inches, tapering down to 20 inches at the hips. The height of the short tail is 12 inches near the body and tapers down to 10 inches at the tip. The width through the fore part and head is 22 feet feet, 8 inches, with a more narrow width, 17 feet 7 inches, at the hips. The otter's short legs are emphasized by the width through the center of the body, 16½ feet. Its rather crude reference to the otter, is partly off-set by its sharply defined edges and its well rounded profile. It has never been disturbed. Mound Nos. 4 and 5 form a biconical. Mound No. 5 to the west is 39 feet in diameter, and at the present time, 30 inches high. Mound No. 4, to the east, is 29 inches high and 43 feet in diameter. Both mounds are connected by a narrow strip, 18 feet wide, and 26 inches high. Erosion has taken a heavy toll, as the result of cattle gathering for many years, around the salt-lick placed on mound No. 6, located 10 feet north of a shed. Almost two-thirds of these mounds have been removed. A long axis line through their center, bears N 55°-30', West mg. the same bearing of the ridge on which these mounds are located.

No. 6 mound in this group is a panther, the most westerly effigy of this group. It bears N 34°-30' West, on the western part of the ridge. It is a low mound, with a length of 115 feet. The fore part of the body, including the head, and the hip, are both 26 inches high. The height at the center of the body is 24 inches. The width measured from the top of the head to the outer edge of the front leg is 27 feet, and the width from the top of the hip, to the edge of the rear leg is 22 feet. The center of the body is 18 feet wide. The tail is 82 feet long, with a width of 10 feet near the body, and tapering gradually to 6 feet at the well rounded end of the tail. Its height averages 10 inches. a considerable amount of soil has been removed from both front and rear shoulders. The

panther is 70 feet away from mound No. 5 of the biconical group. A first glance at the mounds of the Koch Farm reveals a most confusing orientation. Wisconsin Highway 28, to the east, follows a course of N. 37° E mg. with slight deviations. The private road to it, entering from a westerly direction, bears N 123° E. The ravine with the large brook to the north, follows a generally westerly course, continually meandering through its entire length, finally disappearing into the Horicon Marsh. In order to properly orient the various earthworks, and measure their distances, the center of No. 5 mound of the biconical, was selected as a common focus, with the results found as tabulated below:

Compass bearing (mg)	**Stadia Distance**
from No. 4 conical to No. 5 conical N 55°-30' W	—41 feet
from No. 4 conical to No. 6 panther N 34°-30' W	—141 feet
from No. 4 conical to No. 1 beaver S 40°- 0' E	—120 feet
from No. 4 conical to No. 2 turtle N 80°- 0' E	— 39 feet
from No. 4 conical to S. E. corner of shed S 28°-0'W	—71 feet
from No. 4 conical to No. 3 otter N 44°-0' E	— 80 feet

On the Koch Farm is a large spring, which has never been known to stop flowing, and must have been a popular "stop" for the people of countless ages in the past. Four ancient trails pass close by, and the modern Highway 28 almost touches its eastern edge. These early paths followed a meandering course, avoiding all hills wherever possible, and staying very close to the edge of the marsh. They usually led to springs and good camping and village sites. According to many of the pioneer settlers who used these same trails, the historic Indians did not like to repair them. A windfall, or a washout was solved by a short detour around the barrier.

Directly north of the Koch mound group about 200 yards, are two effigies, a goose and a fox. The latter is a very unusual mound, unlike any on record in this state. It faces south, on a 4° slope of the highest part of the woods, 22 feet south of the north line fence, and 30 feet west of the east line fence. Profile views, from different angles, bring out the graceful contour of its head, body, and well rounded tail. The head

and nose is slightly more elevated. A slight depression toward the nose emphasizes the forehead. The body and tail are very evenly proportioned throughout their length. Side views bring out their perfectly contoured form. A slight depression emphasizes its rear flank. Brushing away the leaves from its outer edges, revealed a sharply defined continuous border, exceptionally well preserved by the native woods and brush, through the many centuries since its creation. The fox effigy, 67 feet long, bearing S 30° W mg., is located in a dense native woods. The height of the head is 30 inches, of body 28 inches, and of tail, 36 inches. The length from back of its head to the tip of the extended fore feet is 40 feet, asd the length through the rear part of the body to the tip of the rear leg is 39 feet. The distance through the center of the body, and the center of the tail is 18 feet. The legs are 22 inches high, and proportionately constructed.

The nearby goose mound of this group is 60 feet away, bearing S 56° W. It is an equally well preserved effigy and a type common to this county. It is 100 feet long, with curved back wings 40 feet in length. The body measures 36 feet in length, by 17 feet, 3 inches wide, and neck 50 feet long. The height of body at the center of wings is 30 inches, and the remaining part of body, and the wings, 16 inches high. The neck is uniformly 15 inches high, dropping to 12 inches at the head. The mound bears N 42° E. The virgin forest preserved this ancient monument unusually well.

4. Fisher Mounds (Plate 7)

The Wm. Fisher Farm, contains the northernmost group of effigy of this series and consists of a panther, a tadpole, and a goose. The goose is located on the crest of a densely-wooded ridge. It bears S 27° W, in alignment with the general direction of the ridge. Total length is 61 feet, of which 5 feet extends beyond the north line fence. This length consists of a neck 33 feet long, and the body 28 feet long. The length of the right wing is 28 feet, with a slightly longer left wing of 29 feet. The height of the body is 30 inches, and both neck and wings have a height of 22 inches. The mound is well

EFFIGY MOUND GROUP

WILLIAM FISCHER FARM

NW¼, NE¼, SEC. 28, WILLIAMSTOWN, DODGE CO.

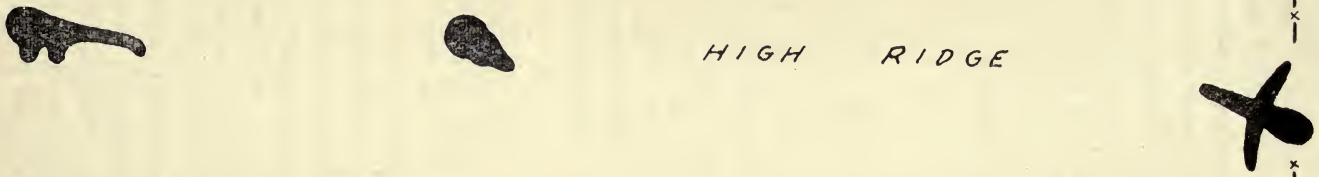


PLATE 7

DR. E.G. BRUDER 1951

preserved, and its outline sharply defined, an outstanding characteristic of earthworks in the remaining virgin forests of this county.

Four hundred feet away, bearing S 25° W, we find the tadpole type of effigy mound. Dr. I. A. Lapham, in his "Antiquities of Wisconsin" of 1850 records several tadpoles on lands 2 miles north of these woods, and 8 miles to the south, at Hustisford. The tadpole is 43 feet long and faces S 25° W. At the widest part of the head, it is 22½ feet wide, with symmetrically undulated sides, tapering down to a width of 7 feet at a point 3 feet away from the tip of the tail. The forepart of the head and body is 4 feet, 4 inches high, leveling to 2 feet, 6 inches at the center of the body, and a terminal height of 2 feet near the tip of the tail. It is a well preserved mound, in this same dense woods, and the only one of its type remaining in this part of Dodge County. One hundred eighty-one feet away, and bearing S 30° E, we find effigy mound No. 3, of this group, a panther with a tail curved downward. Its length is 73 feet overall, including a tail 38 feet long. Through the fore part of the body and head, to the tip of its front foot, the width measures 34 feet, and the distance from the tip of the hip to tip of rear foot, measures 29 feet. The height of the body is 4 feet, and of the legs 2½ feet. The tail is 3 feet high near the body, tapering down to 2 feet near its tip. This mound is also well preserved, and in the undisturbed state as left by its prehistoric creators. The distance from the south edge of the head of the panther, to the rear of the goose, 5 feet beyond the north fence of the woods is 758 feet. The distance measured from the same part of the head to the east fence of the woods is 148 feet. Deer and badger, from the adjacent Horicon Marsh Refuge, make their daily trips to these woods. Deer ofter use the lee side of these mounds to bed themselves. A more favorable game habitat would be difficult to find, the combination of high ridges, dense woods, and the mounds affording perfect seclusion. The natural beauty of the area, which has not been marred by time, deeply inspired the ancient people to the extent of se-

lecting the highest and most scenic elevations for their final resting place.

Mound groups 7 and 8 (Plate 4) are recordings and surveys made by Dr. Increase A. Lapham in 1850, and reproduced from his "Antiquities in Wisconsin." Group 7 was located on the Erwin Schaumberg Farm, E ½ of SE ¼ of Section 28, to the east of the Owen Farm. It consisted of 6 panthers, the largest 400 feet long, and 33 feet wide at the head and forepart. The second largest panther was 200 feet long, and 25 feet wide at the forepart. The remaining panthers, averaging about 130 feet in length. The goose effigy was 100 feet long, with a wing spread of 125 feet. A small 12 foot diameter conical was located to the rear and left of the goose. Two tapering linear mounds, one 100 feet long, and the other 250 feet long, and 20 feet wide completed this group. Today only very faint elevations, and the darker soil areas remain to help identify Dr. Lapham's survey of 100 years ago.

Group 8, another of Dr. Lapham's surveys was formerly located on the NE ¼ of Section 27 on the F. Schellfeffer Farm, in the gap of the Niagara Escarpment, through which passed the ancient Horicon - Theresa and other connecting trails. It consisted of four effigies. Two appear to have been of the panther type, but the indistinct lines of the remaining effigies make it impossible to follow a definite outline. All four have long since been destroyed by the many years of cultivation. The comparative few remaining should be highly treasured, and preserved wherever it is possible to do so. The present town road closely parallel the ancient trails which passed close to these mounds. It is most fortunate to have Dr. Lapham's splendid surveys and accurate descriptions, made over 100 years ago, to augment our present day knowledge of ancient habitations and earthen monuments, nearly all of which have been destroyed.

BUFFALO COUNTY PETROGLYPH

By Robert E. Ritzenthaler

A section of Cambrian sandstone nine and one-half inches in its largest dimension was recently donated to the Milwaukee Public Museum by its finder, Gerald Behrns, age 13, of Milwaukee. The piece was found in a slough of the Mississippi River, under one foot of water, near the town of Nelson in Buffalo County.

Ths sandstone block is of considerable interest to the archeologist because on it are engraved a dozen small petroglyphs, They are incised in the rock to a depth of one-sixteenth of an inch, except for the intaglio head of the human figure which is one-eighth inch in depth. The largest figure in the group is that of a human measuring two and five-eighths inches from the top of the head to the toe of the right foot.

The glyphs are roughly arranged in three rows, and only four of the lot are identifiable by the author: a sun, bow and arrow, fish, and human. In the upper row the sun glyph is flanked by four unidentifiable symbols on the left, and one on the right. The second row is made up of four symbols, in sequence starting at the left: an unidentifiable form, a fish, another unidentifiable form, and the human. The third row consists of a "V" at the left, which might conceivably represent a tipi, a recurved bow with arrow inserted, and an unidentifiable fragment ending where a large portion of the surface of the lower rght corner has scaled off.

It is most likely that these glyphs were originally executed on the sandstone bluffs of the Mississippi River, and this fragmentary block dislodged and removed to the slough, in which it was found, either by man or natural forces. The problem of who did the glyphs, and when, is more difficult. It is the opinion of the writer that they are roughly 500 years old, having been done in late prehistoric times. This estimate is based primarily upon patination, but mainly upon the fact that the bow and arrow for some unexplainable reason appears relatively late in petroglyphs in all parts of the country. We tread on much more tenuous ground in attempting to determine which prehistoric group of Indians was responsible for their creation. The subject matter of the glyphs has little in common with

that of the glyphs assigned to the Woodland peoples. Rather, such symbols as the rayed sun, and the tipi (if it is a tipi) suggests a Plains origin, and the recurved bow points quite definitely to one of the Plains groups.

Whatever their precise cultural identification, these glyphs are another scrap of evidence as to type and distribution of petroglyphs in Wisconsin. The rarity of such finds is indicated by the fact that only seventeen petroglyphic sites have been reported for Wisconsin (see Ritzenthaler, Wisconsin Petroglyphs and Pictographs, Wis. Arch. Vol. 31, No. 4, N. S., 1950).

YOU WILL NOTE that a single sheet questionnaire accompanies this issue. If you have an archeological collection either large or small will you fill it out to the best of your ability and mail it to address given on the bottom of the sheet. The purpose of this is to assemble an inventory of the type and location of specimens in the possession of private collectors which can be used by qualified students making special typological or distributional studies in the field of Wisconsin archeology.

RESTORATION AT AZTALAN

Progress Report, Fall, 1953

By W. J. Erlandson

In the five years that have passed since the State of Wisconsin acquired some 120 acres along the Crawfish river comprising what was once the largest prehistoric Indian village in the state, there has been steady and substantial progress in the development of Aztalan State Park as one of the more unique spots of its kind in the United States.

This new state park is located in Jefferson County, three miles east of Lake Mills, on the west slope of the river. The Wisconsin Archeological Society has a special interest here, for the Society's 3-acre tract later turned oved to the state was the nucleus for the present development.

The most recent phase in the state conservation commission's long-range program for developing the park was undertaken in October, 1953, when a 300-foot section of the southern stockade of the old village was restored.

Work was begun on the project the first week in October, when the 300-foot section was staked out by a crew from the University of Wisconsin under the direction of Dr. David A. Baerreis and the Wisconsin Archeological Survey. A two-foot wide trench was dug with a trenching machine, starting at the river end of the wall, the trenches being dug to a depth of four feet. Three towers are included in this sector.

On October 15 the first pole was erected, a power scoop raising the pole and dropping it in place, where guy wires were nailed on to hold it rigid. It took an hour to set the first four poles; these were the 20 foot long poles that encircle the outer wall of the bastions or towers, in contrast to the 16 foot poles that form the regular walls.

After the poles were set in place, about one pole per foot of trench being needed, it was planned to nail wire mesh onto the stockade wall to enable plaster to be applied as a final step, but the plastering was not started this fall, due to the uncertainty of weather conditions, and will be done next spring.

The stockade and bastions already lend a new note of realism to the park, helping the visitor to better visualize the walled village of centuries ago.

The Restored Stockade at Aztalan State Park
(The rebuilt mound is partially visible at far left)

Those who have not visited the park recently will find, in addition to the newly-built stockade, that the southwest mound, largest of the Aztalan earthworks, has also been restored. This work was done in the summer of 1951, and involved moving three thousand cubic yards of earth, a chore that was completed in three days using modern earth moving equipment. About 40 feet across at the top, this mound rises 25 feet above the surrounding terrain and is in two levels, with a pyramidal form resembling the mounds of the Aztec culture of Mexico and the lower Mississippi valley.

Restoration of both the stockade and the mound have been based on data compiled during the summers of 1949 and 1950, when archeological research was conducted on the site under the direction of the Wisconsin Archeological Survey, as well as the material available from previous workers such as I. A. Lapham and N. F. Hyer and the rather extensive report of Dr. S. A. Barrett.

It is hoped that a sample Aztalan home can be restored, followed by other typical features and items of the ancient culture.

The conservation commission has made several plantings of trees on the park site, constructed a long, winding road through the property, provided picnic and sanitary facilities, and erected attractive signs on the land.

Each summer brings more and more visitors to the park and to the nearby Aztalan museum, maintained in a one-time Baptist church by the Lake Mills-Aztalan Historical Society. And as restoration proceeds, it is not difficult to look ahead to the time when Aztalan State Park will become one of the show places of Wisconsin.

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